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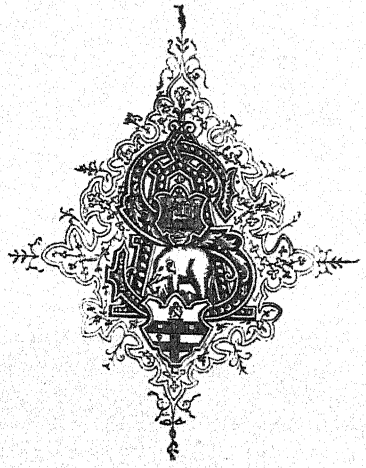

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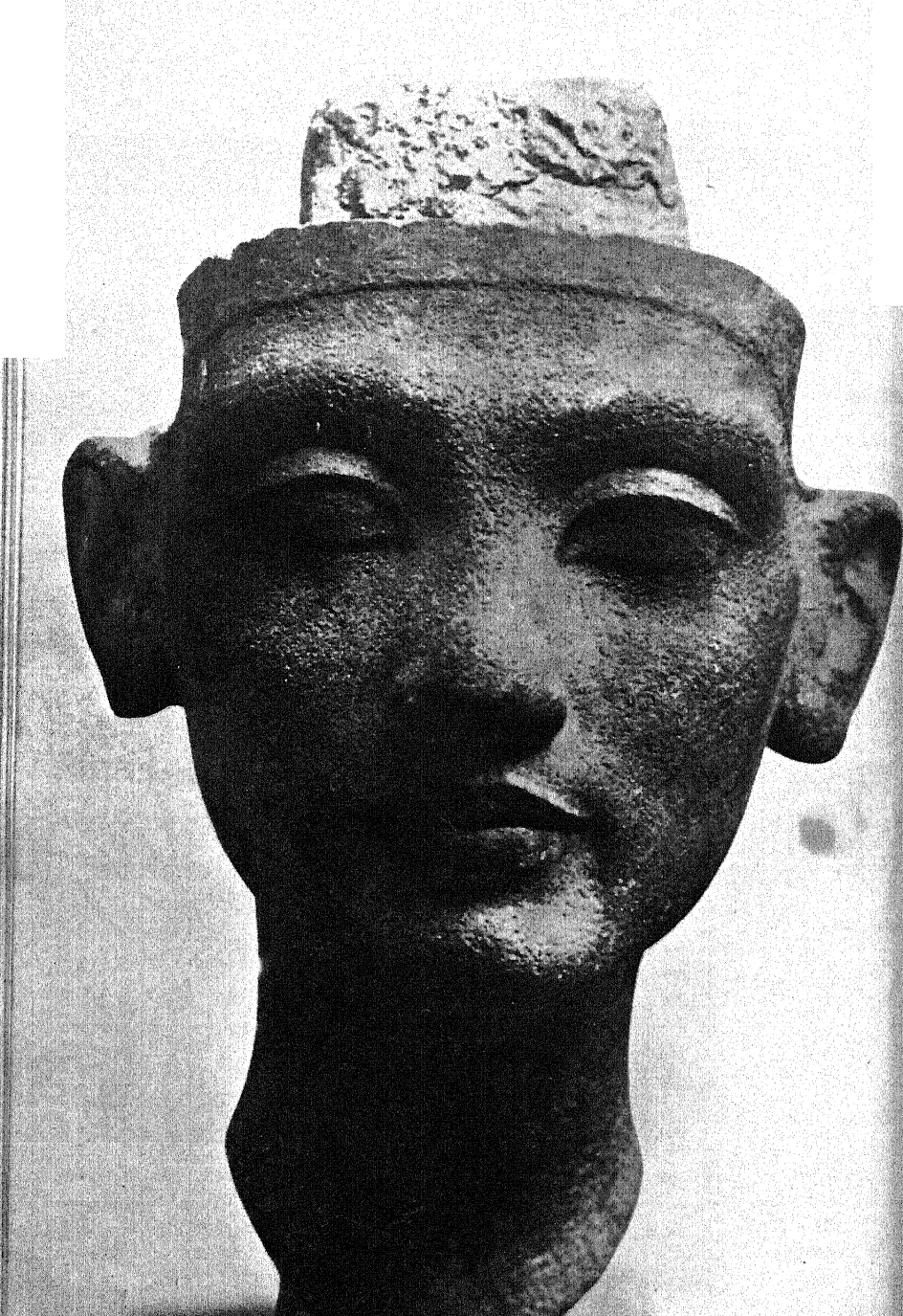


ADDENDA

p. 180, l. 2. For ³ read (or : at once).

„ 80. For *mrty* read *mrt*[*xmy*].

p. 181, 123. After " table-cloth " insert " and compares Pers. *sufre.*"

„ Note 2. After " fruit again " insert ".

p. 182, 140. After *abhyākarī*) insert , " as Prof. Bailey kindly established for me ".

„ 196. After § 410 insert *cw* scribal error for *cn* (H.).

„ Note 1. After " *still* " insert [*Kāšgharī* i, 281, 7 *šük tur* (" stand " as in Sogd.) = " be silent " (H.).]

p. 183, 267. For *"trny* and *"tr ny* read *'trny* and *'tr ny.*

„ „ For " to me were " read " I had ".

„ „ For " could have destroyed " read " could destroy ".

Masterpieces of Oriental Art. 6

By DORA GORDINE (The Hon. Mrs. RICHARD HARE)

(PLATES I and II)

Head of Queen Nefertiti

Circa 1370 B.C. *Brown Sandstone, 30 cm. high. Berlin*

THIS small head is one of the world's supreme masterpieces, exhibiting all the qualities of the greatest sculpture.

The face is wistful. A faint smile plays almost imperceptibly round the curves of the mouth, the nostrils, and the languid eyes. So sensitive is the modelling that the very flesh appears to vibrate under the skin, and the eyes seem liquid and alive. The technique is detailed enough to bring out the profound individuality of the Egyptian queen, but it does not mar the bland unity of the whole, planes flowing one into another with unbroken continuity.

The composition is strong and architectural. The ears are carved simply without the realism of a dent to form a harsh angle between head and the top of the ear, and their compact solidity stresses the ripple of the facial planes. So superb is the construction that viewed from the front the neck looks surprisingly slim to support with harmony and ease a head so large, but viewed in profile it is revealed as columnar and solid, like the ears, accentuating the delicacy of the face; its dynamic thrust forward balances the movement of the head.

Less known, this piece is incomparably better than the popular coloured head of Nefertiti in a cylindrical headdress.

Sanskrit *jenya*

By F. W. THOMAS

THIS Ṛg-vedic word, for which Grassmann's *Wörterbuch* proffers the meanings—

1. " noble," " of high origin (Abkunft) " ;
2. (of goods, possessions) " fine ", " excellent "

recurs in the *Sāma-veda* and in the *Kāṭhaka-saṃhitā* and *Maitrāyaṇī-s.* of the *Black Yajur-veda*, but only in two passages taken verbatim from the *Ṛv.*, viz. Vi.42.4 = *Sv.* II.6.3.2.4, and V, 1, 5 = *Ks.* XVI, 3, XIX, 4, *Ms.* II.7.3. In the other Vedic texts, in the *Nirukta*, in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and its commentaries, in the *Gaṇa-pāṭha*, the *Uṇādi* lists and in the whole subsequent independent literature it seems to be uninstanced. The *Ṛg-veda* commentaries, which could not fail to interpret it, propound meanings for the most part different from those adopted by Grassmann.

Skandasvāmin, in the available part of his *Ṛg-veda-bhāṣya* (Vol. I = *Aṣṭaka* I, edited by Dr. Kunhan Raja, Madras, 1935), encounters the word only in *Ṛv.* I.71.4 and I.119,5 : in the former of these two passages, where *jénya* is epithet of Agni, he renders it by *jetā tamasāṃ śatrūṇāṃ vā*, " conqueror of darkness or of enemies," in the latter, where he understands *jényā* as a Dual applied to the two Aśvins, by *jetārau*, " conquerors." *Vijenyà* in I.119.4 is similarly *vijetṛ śatrūṇām.* Sāyaṇa, who has to interpret the word in nineteen passages, including two occurrences of the Bahuvrīhi *jenyāvasū* and one each of *svájenya* and *vijenyà*, proceeds as follows :—

Where *jénya* is taken as epithet of Agni, he understands *prādurbhūta* or *jetā* (I.71.4 " become manifest " or " victor "), or *sarvatra-prādur-bhavana-śīla* (I.146.5 " used to becoming everywhere manifest "), or *utpādanīya* (V.1.5, " to be produced), or *jayaśīla* (X.4.3, " used to victory "). When epithet of *viśpáti* (I.128.7), Soma (X.56.36), Varuṇa (X.61.24), and of *śūra* (understood), " hero," or *vājin*, " horse," he adopts *jayaśīla.*

When epithet of *yóṣā*, " woman," sc. Sūryā as bride of the Aśvins (I.119.5), he takes *jényā*, here understood by Skanda-

When epithet of *vṛṣan*, "bull," it is *prabhūta* or *pravṛddha* (I.140.2, "prominent" or "full-grown"), or *jayasamartha* (II.18.2, "capable of victory").

When epithet of *go*, "cow," it is *jetavya* or *praśasta* (III.31.11, "to be won," or "excellent").

When epithet of *vásu*, "wealth" (I.196.1), and in the Compound *jenyāvasū* (VII.74.3, VIII.38.7), it is *jetavya*, or *jayasādhana* (VIII.101.6, "means of victory").

In VI.42.4, *samasya jényasya śárdhato*, "of any presumptuous *jénya*," it is again *jetavya*.

Vijenyà, epithet of *vártis*, "path" or "course" (I.119.4) *vijano dūradeśaḥ/tatra bhavam*, is "being in a *vijana*, i.e. a distant place".

Svájenya (V.7.5), applied to Agni, is *svotpanna*, "self-originated."

Evidently Sāyaṇa's tendency, derived perhaps from Skandasvāmin or an even prior tradition, is to refer *jénya* to √*ji*, "conquer": when he departs from this and renders by terms such as *prādurbhūta*, *prabhūta*, *pravṛddha*, *praśasta*, *utpādanīya*, *svotpanna*, he is thinking of √*jan* and its derivative *jánya*; and *vijana* also is a well-known derivative from *jana*.

Connection with √*ji* was accepted in perhaps the earliest European discussion of *jénya*, namely that by Benfey in the Glossary (p. 72) to his edition (1848) of the *Sāma-veda*: *jénya* was taken as for *jayenya*, an-*enya* derivative as in *váreṇya*, and a signification "to be desired" was deduced from "to be conquered", "to be won", "to be striven for". *Vijenyà* was left undetermined. Grassman's *Wörterbuch* (1873) and his translation brought the meaning "noble" and a connection with √*jan*, and, no doubt, the word *jánya*; and for *vijenyà*, disallowed on ground of accent as a derivative of √*vij*, a concurrence in Sāyaṇa's interpretation, "solitary." With a different etymology, viz. *jénya* < *jñenya* (√*jñā*), practically the same signification, "noble" or "notorious", was approved by Ludwig (Index), who, except as noted *infra*, and in I.146.5, "allsichtbare Koenig" (*didṛkṣényа . . . jénya*), everywhere renders by "edel" or "vorzüglich"; and "edel", "noble", was still endorsed by Oldenberg in his *Ṛg-Veda-Noten* (1909) to I.119.4 (also I.140.2), while he dismisses all connection of *vijenyà* with *vijana* and demurs to its derivation from √*vij*. Even

published, and who for *jénya* propounds a signification, "häuslich," "heimisch," "befreundet," "angestammt," "stammverwandt," οἰκεῖος, "familiaris," "domesticus," more pointed than the rather inane "noble", does not abandon the connection with √*jan*, but rather reaffirms it (*ad.* I.146.5), making *jénya* = *janenya*, *vijenyà* from *vijana* and *svájenya* from *svajana*.

Though modern etymologists may revolt against a derivation of *jénya* from √*jan*, and to Geldner's *janenya* may further object that such a form should have a Gerundive meaning, it must be admitted that in the employment of *jánya* and *jénya* there are some noticeable parallelisms. *Jánya*, like *jénya*, is applied to—

(*a*) Agni X.91.2, who is a guest in every house and found in every forest and—

jánaṃ-janaṃ jányo nắti manyate
víśa ấ kṣeti viśyò víśaṃ-viśam// ;

(*b*) Agni as *dūta* between men and gods (*janmobhaya*) II.6.7—

dūtó jánye va mítryaḥ

where, however, *jánya iva* means according to Geldner "like a matrimonial go-between" (as often), while Grassmann understands *jánye iva*, "(between) two clans," and Oldenberg *jányā iva*, "(between) two clansmen";

(*c*) the Aśvins as two *dūtas* II.39.1—

dūtéva hávyā jányā purutrấ//

Here Grassmann understands "belonging to the clan"; but Geldner again adopts the signification "matrimonial go-between", as he and Grassmann both do in IV.38.6—

srájaṃ kṛṇvānó jányo ná śúbhvā ;

(*d*) Agni as a babe in *Kāṭhaka-s.* VII.12—

antárvatī jányaṃ jātávedasam
adhvarắṇāṃ janayataṃ purogắm/,

Compare IX.86.36 (where the babe, however, is Soma)—

saptá svásāro abhí mātáraḥ śíśum
návaṃ jajñānáṃ jényaṃ vipaścítam/
X.4.3 śíśuṃ ná tvā jényaṃ vardháyantī
mātắ bibharti sacanasyámānā/

In X.61.24, however,

ádhā nv àsya jényasya puṣṭáu

(*e*) cows IX.49.2—

yáyā gắva ihắgáman/jányāsa úpa no gṛhám//

Here Grassmann in his translation understands *jányāsa*, "excellent" (vorzügliche), but in the *Wörterbuch* "belonging to other clans" (similarly *dyumná jányā*, X.42.6, "the glories of the others").

A certain resemblance may also be seen between IV.55.5—

pắt pátir jányād ámhaso no
mitró mitríyād utá na uruṣyet//
"May the protector protect us from
oppression by strangers (*jányād*),
And Mitra save us from such by
friends"

and VI.42.4—

kuvít samasya jényasya śárdhato 'bhíśaster avaspárat//
"May he (Indra) perhaps defend us from the curse of every
arrogant *jénya*."

Bráhma jányam (II.37.6), "the clan's prayer," though it has no parallel with *jénya*, presents no difficulty.

But after all the similar use of the two terms, *jénya* and *jánya*, without any apparent suspicion on the part of the hymners or their Indian commentators that they were really identical tends rather to show that they were in fact distinguished, their distinction being fortified by their very assonance, as in so many cases, such as "hearth and home", "fact and fancy", "house and home", "tit for tat", "toil and moil", and so on. With this in view it may be asked whether, disregarding any etymological connection with √*jan* and also the thereon based signification, "noble," we can acquiesce in the notion of "domestic", οἰκεῖος, "familiaris," etc., as adopted by Geldner. In some instances such a sense may seem highly apposite, e.g. in I.140.2—

anyásyāsā jihváyā jényo vṛ́ṣā
ny ànyéna vaníno mṛṣṭa vāraṇáḥ//
"With the mouth, the tongue of the one (he is) a domestic
(häuslich) bull,
With the other (as) an elephant he pulled down trees,"

where the reference is, as Geldner follows Sāyaṇa in noting, to Agni's double birth (*dvíjanmā*, in the prior part of the verse), as

cow," though not supported by any antithesis or special appropriateness, are unobjectionable: and the like can be said of I.128.7 *jényo ná viśpátiḥ*, "family (stammverwandt) clan-chief" and I.71.4—

gṛhé-gṛhe śyetó jényo bhūt

"in every house the ruddy one became at home" (heimisch).[1]

Not much is to be said for I.130.6 *jényam . . . vājínam*, "favourite steed" (Leibross), or I.119.5 *yóṣā . . . jényā*, "woman become a friend or befriended" (die befreundete Maid). In II.5.1 (and probably also in VIII.101.6) *jényaṃ vásu* is "hereditary (angestammt) wealth"; and *jenyāvasū* will be "having hereditary wealth".[2] The *vártir vijenyàm* of I.119.4, where Oldenberg inclines towards "course with (two) different (*vi*) noble (steeds)", citing in confirmation I.116.18, is "course into foreign parts" (Umfahrt in die Fremde (?))[3]: and *svájenya* in V.7.5 will be "(Agni) in his own home"[4] (sc. the forest). Some of these interpretations seem rather to drift away from the posited signification; but in general they yield a sense more satisfactory than does the older rendering, "noble."

What, however, if *jénya* is related to *jánya* not by similarity of meaning, but by antithesis? Agni, in fact, though he appears in every household, *gṛhé-gṛhe* or *dáme-dame*, is not regarded as a son of the family. Sometimes he is complimented on being "head of the household or clan" (*viśpáti*, e.g. I.128.7 *jényo . . . priyó v.*); but his most usual aspect is that of a guest (*átithi*). Perhaps his external origin appears most clearly in I.71.4—

máthīd yád īṃ víbhṛto mātaríśvā
gṛhé-gṛhe śyetó jényo bhūt/
ád īm rā́jñe ná sáhīyase sácā sánn
á dūtyám bhṛ́gavāṇo vivāya//

"When Mātaríśvan, being borne to other places (*vi*), evoked him by friction,
He became *jénya* (Ludwig and Geldner, "heimisch," "at home") in every house:

[1] So also Ludwig.

[2] Ludwig has in VII.74.3 "ihre angeborene Trefflichkeit" and in VIII.38.7 "ihr eignes Gut".

[3] Ludwig "zu fremdem Hause".

[4] Ludwig "von eignem Adel" and (Index) "durch sich selbst bloss zu erkennen".

And then, being in the company (*sácā*), he, as to a powerful
(*or* more powerful) king,
Discharged, blazing, the office of envoy."

It is fully recognized (Oldenberg, Geldner) that what is here *víbhṛto* is the fire (Agni) itself, though, if Mātariśvan is a grandiloquent expression for something taken with the fire,[1] there is no need to read *víbhṛtam* or to adopt syntactical expedients. For Agni has a special epithet *víbhṛtra*, and in I.95.2 it is said that " they lead him round " (*pári sīṃ nayanti*) *víbhṛtra* : in X.45.2 and 80.4 his *dhāma, dhāmāni*, were " borne away into many places ", *víbhṛtā purutrā́*. We can conceive that the fire, once kindled, was shared out to other dwellings ; and this is, in fact, stated in V.11.4—

agníṃ náro víbharante gṛhé-gṛhe/

and more fully in I.70.10—

ví tvā náraḥ purutrā́ saparyan
pitúr ná jívrer ví védo bharanta//

" men did thee honour apart (*or* competitively) in many places."
" They shared (thee) like the goods of an aged father."

In the other houses Agni becomes *śyetó jényo*, in which description, though we may share the doubt of Oldenberg concerning the real meaning of *śyetó*,[1] we cannot positively object to Grassmann's " bright ", " red-white ", Geldner's " red-gleaming ", in view of VIII.101.6—

hinvire aruṇám jényaṃ vásu

where the *vásu*, apparently the sun, is by Oldenberg, who adduces VIII.43.19 *agním . . . admasádyāya hinvire*, identified with Agni.

The phrase *sácā sánn* was understood by Skandasvāmin as meaning " with his brothers ", by Sāyaṇa as bringing in the notion of an allied king, while Grassmann's " mit ihm im Bunde " implies " with Mātariśvan " and Geldner's " wie der Verbündete " seems to agree with Sāyaṇa. But in any case it involves a distinction and it recalls II.18.2—

anyásya gárbham anyá ū jananta
só anyébhiḥ sacate jényo vṛ́ṣā//

" The embryo of one others begot :
He again consorts with others, a *jénya* bull."

Here Geldner's " häuslich ", " domestic ", seems less apt than the almost contrary notion of " from elsewhere ". Agni is, in fact, not

[1] See Addendum *infra*.

a son of the family (*jánya*), but what would be called a "foster-child" or "ward".

There seems to be no difficulty in regard to *jénya*, in that sense, as applied to "horse" (*vājín*) and bull (*vṛ́ṣan*): the modern rendering, "noble," shows that something exceptional or precious is meant, and "guarded", "cherished", "cared for", would be apposite. When we come to "wealth", *jényaṃ vásu* can well mean "wealth placed in one's charge"; and the compound *jenyā-vasū*, applied to the Aśvins and to Indrāgnī, gains in point if it means "having wealth in their charge *or* care". The signification "self-tended" for *svájenya* is suitably applied in V.7.5 to the forest fire, which does not grow old or weak (*ajáraḥ*)—

áva sma yásya véṣaṇe svédaṃ pathíṣu júhvati,
abhím áha svájenyam bhūmā pṛṣṭhéva ruruhuḥ//

in contrast to the "work", "attention", "care" (*veṣaṇa*), and sweat requisite in the case of other fire. But perhaps the test expression is the *vártir vijenyàm*, the "*vijenyà* course *or* circuit" of the Aśvins in succouring Divodāsa (I.119.4). Grassmann's "lonely house" (ferngelegnes Haus) and Geldner's "circuit into foreign parts" (Umfahrt in die Fremde) both retain the sense of Sāyaṇa's etymology, while Oldenberg, who points out that *vijenyà* should be related to the *jénya* of the next following verse—

ā́ vām patitvā́ṃ sakhyā́ya jagmúṣī
yóṣāvṛṇīta jényā yuvā́m pátī//

undecidedly proffers the explanation cited *supra*. From our present point of view we can see that *yóṣā jényā*, Geldner's "die befreundete Maid", can be "the maid taken under your charge *or* protection", which will accord with "having with a view to friendship come into wifehood to you two". But in the compound *vijenyà* the *vi* is ambiguous, and perhaps a negative sense is even improbable by reason of the accent, which in any case may require explanation.[1] We can at this stage only propound alternative meanings, (*a*) "unguarded", (*b*) "completely guarded", (*c*) "guarded by others".

The discussion of this topic might have been left to some other initiative but for the emergence of a fact which was not within the

[1] On the accent of *vi-* compounds see Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, ii, pp. 70, 217–18, 220, 222–5, 230, 238, 261. 267, 281, 285, 304, 311.

cognizance of the older Vedic scholars. In the Kharoṣṭhī Prākrit documents from Chinese Turkestan (see the edition by the Abbé Boyer, Professor E. J. Rapson, M. É. Senart, and Professor P. S. Noble, Oxford, 1920–9, Index), there is frequent occurrence of a word *jheniǵa* or *jheniya*, used in letters requesting or instructing the addressee to look after or take charge of certain matters. A typical example is—

No. 152 : avaśa ede kilmeciye sarvabhaṽena jheniǵa siyaṃti
" certainly let these *kilmecis* be wholeheartedly (taken) under
(your, usually *tahi* or *tumahu*) care."

In a majority of instances the request or instruction relates to persons, employees, or other connections of the writer; but in some cases animals, e.g. camels or horses (Nos. 244, 644, 509), or simply matters of business (No. 278). The meaning " given in charge ", " entrusted " was recognized by Professor Konow (*Acta Orientalia*, x, p. 80) through the etymological equivalence of Saka-Khotanī *ysīnīya* and Sogdian *zynyh*. In *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents* (p. 93) Professor Burrow added Persian *zin-hār*, " protection," [1] and *zindān*, " prison." Other Iranian forms, Parthian and Sogdian, have been kindly brought to my knowledge by Dr. Henning, who in his *Ein Manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch* (Berlin Academy *Sitzungsberichte*, 1937, No. 10) has fully expounded them (p. 89 (764)) and has also cited the kindred Avestan words—

zaēnah-, " wakefulness," " watchfulness," etc., *zaēman-*, *zaēnahvant-*, *zaēnaŋhan-*, *zaēni-*, *zaēni-buδra-*, *azinahvant-*.

The meaning " watch " or " wake " is emphasized by the fact that *zaēnah-* is used in combination with " not sleeping " (anava*ŋ-habdəmnō*) and *zaēni-* and *zaēni-buδra* of a dog. The last of these is curiously reminiscent both of the name and notion of Buddha, " the Awake," and also of the title " Jina ", shared by Jains and Buddhists, who, however, unite in connecting it, as the *Ṛg-Veda* commentators do *jénya*, with *jināti*, " conquer."

It is noticeable that the Avestan words, with the general sense of " being awake or alert " or " watching ", do not exemplify the passive notion of " being watched or tended or guarded ", which well accords with the *ya-* suffix in *jénya* and perhaps especially

[1] With a number of derivatives and compounds, spelled with *zīn-* and *zin-* in the *Shāh-nāmah*.

with the application to Agni, the watched or tended fire: and further that it is the same Passive sense, "in charge," "under charge or care," that appears in the Prākrit and Middle-Iranian words. In Sogdian, Dr. Henning informs me, *zynyh* is an Adverb, meaning "under one's care", "well watched", which also holds good for Parthian *zyn'yy* (along with *hw-zynyh*, etc.), whereof a characteristic occurrence is in—

> mn gy'n zyn'yy 'w tw d'd, mn gryw 'w tw 'byspwrd
> "my soul in-care to you I-have-given, my 'self' to you I-have-entrusted (given-in-charge)".

The Adverb is a Locative of the Noun, Manichæan-Sogdian *zynyy*, which seems, Dr. Henning states, to mean "goods given into someone's care, deposit". The Sanskrit word *jénya* belonged evidently to an old stratum in the *Ṛg-veda*, and no other derivate from a √*jen* seems discoverable in the language or in the normal Prākrits or their modern descendants. It may be, therefore, that in the Avestan the root was an isolated survival and that in the Indian sphere it succumbed very early to the competition of the *gar* of *jāgarti* (Gk. ἐγείρω), which, with its Adjective *jāgṛvi* is, in fact, frequently applied to Agni. The retention of the individual form *jénya* may have been due to some social usage, which, to judge from the occurrences, may have been that of foster-parentage or wardship.

These facts cast some doubt upon the view that in the Kharoṣṭhī Prākrit documents *jheniǵa*, *jheniya*, is a loan-word from the Saka-Khotanī (*ysīnīya*) or from some other Iranian source. It would be possible that in the sub-Hindukush region the word and usage might, with other Vedic features, have survived and that they might thence have been carried into the Shan-shan region of Chinese Turkestan, where the practice of fosterage, but expressed by the term *un-nī-*, was evidently common.

In favour of borrowing would, no doubt, be urged the use of the aspirate *jh*, well known as equivalent to Iranian *z*. It is perhaps uncertain how far this consideration is conclusive, since *j* for *jh* is rather frequent in the Prākrit and there seem to be instances (*ajhuvadae*, No. 586) of the converse: even in the case of *jhen* there is an exception if, as seems likely, *jenavida* in No. 506 is a Verb and means "committed" (a dispute, *astama*, to certain judges for trial). This, however, would imply a survival of √*jen*.

ADDENDUM

(See p. 9 *supra*)

For valuable suggestions concerning *śyetá* and *mātariśvan* I am indebted to Dr. W. B. Henning, who kindly permits me to record them here.

(*a*) *śyetá* might appropriately in the passage *Ṛv.* I.71.4 (*supra*, p. 9) have the meaning "orphan", and be connected with Avestan *saē*, "orphan(ed)" (Bartholome, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 1547; cf. Av. *saēna-* = Sk. *śyená-*). The Iranian word, which has all the marks of great antiquity, is represented in later Iranian by the following forms, which all go back to an early **saiva(ka)* :—

Saka (Khotanese) *syūta*, where the *-t-* may or may not be deceptive, while *yū* < *-aiu̯a*, as e.g. in *dyū* < *daiva-*, *BSOS.*, X, p. 916.

Parthian *syw̌g*, *Mitteliranische Manichaica*, iii, p. 906 [61], spelled also *syyw̌g*, hence presumably = *sēwag*.

Manichæan Middle-Persian *syw̌g* (in unpublished texts).

Kurdish سیوی *sīvī*, "orphan," also *syḗvi*, Jaba-Justi, *Dictionnaire Kurde*, p. 251; Sloane, *Kurdish Grammar*, p. 239: "orphan *sīwī*."

(*b*) *mātariśvan*, in which the accent may indicate that the *-van* is a suffix, might be related to Persian *bādrīs* or (with *-aka-* suffix) *bādrīse*, in which *b*, for *m*, would have many parallels and would be favoured by the rarity of *mād-* and the great number of words with *bād-*, "wind," and the apparent, though absurd, meaning "wind-spinning". The meaning of *bādrīs(e)*, sometimes wrongly given as *bādrēs(e)*, is "a twirling-stick", especially "the whirl of a spindle". Thus *mātariś* may originally have denoted the fire-drill, the well-known Vedic *aráṇi*.

It may be remarked that *mātariśvan*, if meaning "possessed of a fire-drill stick", might be a very ancient epithet, applicable both to Agni and the other divinities to whom it is applied in the *Ṛg-veda* (see Grassmann's *Wörterbuch* and Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 71–2), and also to the wind-god, who in the *Atharva-veda* and later is usually the god so named.

The Rāmāyaṇa

A Version of Rāma's Story from Ceylon

By C. E. GODAKUMBURA

A VERSION of the story of Sītā is related during the performance of the "Kohoṁbā Yakkama" or the "Kohoṁbā Kankāriya", popularly called "Kankāriya", one of the most interesting of ceremonies extant among the Sinhalese. The rite is supposed to have been first performed during the reign of Paṇḍuvāsadeva, the second Sinhalese king of Ceylon (*circa* fifth century B.C.).[1]

Paṇḍuvāsadeva, it is said, was tormented by frightful dreams believed to be due to his predecessor's violation of a promise of marriage to the Yakṣa princess Kuveṇi. Magicians could do nothing until finally, at the request of the gods, King Malaya came from India and performed the first Kohoṁbā Yakkama.

During this occult ceremony several historical legends are related, among them the story of the birth and childhood of Prince Malaya. Malaya (Sinhalese: *mala* = a flower) was born of a flower and was brought up by Sītā in her exile with her own son and another boy who had a similar miraculous birth. The dancers and the drum-beaters who perform the rite know from memory the whole text of the ceremony, with all the anecdotes, in Sinhalese verse, together with detailed narratives in prose. The following account of the story of Sītā is gathered from a text of the Kohoṁbā Yakkama obtained from a dancer in the village of Koṭaligoḍa in Yaṭinuvara in the District of Kandy.

Viṣṇu (incarnate as Rāma) was under an inauspicious aspect of Saturn, the malicious planet, and in order to avert its evil effects, he left his queen, Sītā, and taking the guise of an elephant passed the seven unlucky years in the forest. Meanwhile Rāvaṇa carried Sītā away in his aerial car to his capital in Laṅkā and attempted to seduce her. Sītā told him that she was under a vow of chastity

[1] The earliest literary accounts of the cult do not date back further than the fifteenth century A.D. The ceremony itself appears to be of South Indian origin and from the geographical names in the texts one might identify Malaya with the Malabar country. The writer has prepared a full account of the Kohoṁbā Yakkama, with texts, and it will appear in a subsequent number of this journal.

for three months and added that at the end of that time she would allow him to fulfil his wishes.

At the end of the seven years Rāma returned and not finding his wife began to roam the forest in search of her, where he met Vālin wandering round lamenting the loss of his wife who had eloped with the king of the apes. Vālin came to Viṣṇu and told him, "Friend, help me to get my wife back and I will accompany you to battle. Moreover, I shall go to Rāvaṇa, deceive him, and bring back your queen Sītā."

Viṣṇu agreed and shot at the king of the apes with his arrow. Vālin recovered his wife and obtained three boons from Viṣṇu: ability to walk on the sea, protection from fire, and immunity against arrows. Vālin then entered Rāvaṇa's park, climbed the best of his mango trees, and ate the fruits thereof. The park-keeper tried in vain to capture the vicious animal, and in the end brought the matter to the notice of the king. Royal guards surrounded the monkey, amused at his curious antics. Sītā, too, was there enjoying the fun in the company of Rāvaṇa, and after a while she ordered the guards to seize the monkey, wrap cloth round his tail and set it on fire. The guards dipped the monkey's tail in oil, wrapped rags round it, and set fire to them. Vālin jumped on to the palace roof, setting fire to it, and burning the whole city. Then while confusion reigned in Rāvaṇa's court he seized Sītā and carried her back to Viṣṇu.

A short while after Sītā conceived a child and at the same time Viṣṇu had to attend a meeting of the assembly of the gods, leaving Sītā alone at home. Umā paid a visit to Sītā, and inquiring about her life in Laṅkā, asked her to describe the appearance of Rāvaṇa. To satisfy the curiosity of her friend Sītā made a sketch of Rāvaṇa's figure on the leaf of an ash-plantain tree. Hardly had Sītā completed her drawing when Viṣṇu came home, and seeing him come she threw her drawing under the bed. Viṣṇu sat on the bed, but by the majesty of Rāvaṇa the bed began to shake, and when Viṣṇu looked underneath to see what the matter was he discovered Sītā's drawing. Enraged at the sight of it, and suspecting Sītā to be in love with Rāvaṇa, Viṣṇu sent for his brother Saman (= Sanskrit: *Sumana*) and commanded him to kill Sītā, adding, "I want you to take this wicked woman into the forest and behead her." Saman led Sītā to the Himālaya, left her near a hermitage, and returned with his sword wet with the blood of a wild animal which he had

cut, and reported to his brother that his command had been fulfilled.

Sītā was weary and slept there for a long while. At last she woke, and fearful of the lonely forest where she was left helpless, she wept loud. The sage Vālamīga (= Sanskrit: *Vālmīki*), who lived in the hermitage close by, went towards the direction of the cries and saw Sītā in that pitiable condition. The compassionate sage thought that it was his duty to help a pregnant woman and therefore built her a hut of leaves near his own pond. Sītā lived in this hut on the fruits of the forest, and when her time of delivery came she gave birth to a son whom she showed to the hermit. The holy man gave his blessings to the little one and the mother and child continued to live there enjoying his protection. One day when the mother left the child in bed and went to the forest in search of fruits he fell off from his bed and began to scream. The hermit, attracted by the shrieks of the infant, went to the hut and discovered him on the ground. The sage could not touch him to put him back on the bed, for it did not befit his holy life. He therefore plucked a lotus from the pond and threw it on to the bed where it turned into a child. Ignorant of what had happened Sītā came back, took up the child that was on the bed, and was feeding him when her own child cried from under the bed. Seeing her son there she was confused and ran to the ascetic, who told her what had happened and tried to console her, but it was all in vain. "I shall not believe you," said she, "unless you create for me another child." "How will you feed a third child?" asked the sage. "I shall feed two at my breasts and the third I shall feed on my little finger," replied Sītā. Vālamīga went back with her and threw a blade of sacrificial grass on to the bed from which forthwith another child was created. When the three boys were only seven years old, they left their mother and went to the Malaya country where they built three royal parks and palaces and flourished under the names of Saňdaliňdu, Mala, and Kistrī (Kit-śrī, Kistri).

The following stanzas relating the story of the three princes have been extracted from a MS. of the Kohoňbā Kankāriya obtained from Hilipatē-gedara Silpā, a dancer living in the village of Tirappuva in Uḍunuvara, in the Kandy District. The account contained in them differs only in a few details from that which has already been related.

TEXT

1. irā e-raṁba-patak rägena
purā ohuge ruva aṁdimina
dirā emav(?) guṇaya äṁdina
nurā sitin dundäyi gena.

2. de-pā[bā] niriṁdugen ahalā
sura'taṭa kagapata dīlā
sarosin kaṁda depalu-kaḷā
bisovun gena bāra-kaḷā.

3. rägena varan kukus no-koṭa
dun kagapata gena sura'taṭa
Sītāpati issara-koṭa
rägena gosin maha-himayaṭa.

4. karaḍubarin(?) un Sītā
niriṁdu basaṭa säka nositā
pasiṁdu e-laṁda dukma sitā
niriṁdu visin äri Sītā.

5. kuḍā kumaru yahana boḷaṁda
kaḍā giyō palaväla soṁda
viḍā-vemin ot nidi tada
aṁḍā kumaru yahana boḷaṁda.

6. yahanē un kumaru rusī
däksē [duksē ?] gos bäluva rusī
tissē däka yahan rusī
viksōpen unnu rusī.

7. mada-mat gaja lihiniyadō
tada pada yana rakusekdō
padamak näti visa nayidō
adavat kumarun kohedō

8. vanayē [vanē] vesena devidekdō
anē tamā un duṭidō
vanayē [vanē] rakusu gena giyadō
anē kumana māyamadō.

9. matuva e-mahanel rūpā
matuṭa sidda-guliya däpā
satuṭu-sitin dun ā̃ pā
eviṭa kumaru gatiya upā.

10. ruvaṭa ruvak mavā-letī [-latī]
duraṭa e-giya mav pemätī
satuṭu sitin vadā-latī [vaḍā-]
eviṭa kumaru räv nägetī.

11. dennā gena dev ukulaṭa
yannā liya pansalayaṭa
pennā lā rusin äsaṭa
dannā kiv aruma eviṭa.

12. laňda e-kumaru mav-bisavada
väňda kī rusigē siripada
dedenek viya kumaru boḷaňda
mā'dī ḷut(-lat ?) daru yi topaṭa.

13. e-basaṭa e-bisav sarosin
melesaṭa māyam kiyamin
mā däka biḷidek mavamin
nätahot vā̃venu itikin.

14. aragena ītaṇa konda ataṭa
matuṭa damati eva[ema] vilasaṭa
bihiva kumaru mäṇika lesaṭa
vaḍati e-tun-dena ukulaṭa.

15. matu äti una kumarunḍā
Kitśrī yayi nam unḍā
soňda lesa somiguṇa-vanḍā
yasa teda bala deti unḍā.

16. sarivannā epamannā (?)
pirisunnā laňda-vannā (?)
kiri dennā mopavannā (?)
daru dennā räka dennā.

17. vaḍā kumaruvan pemätī
kavā povā äti-karatī

gevā dahas gaman yatī
nimāḷuven(?) gos keḷitī

18. ūran da kana täna
balamin denna vena vena
sära pähära äri täna
de-tun denekut väṭē eka-täna.

19. ūran da vida gana
vena vena kara tabā gana
nomala päṭiyan gena
keḷiti pansala mäda tabā gena.

20. Räma-raja pokuṇaṭa
noyav biḷiňduni etanaṭa
ma-bas vimasannaṭa
debāyō gos vanni pokuṇaṭa.

21. pokuṇaṭa gosillā
rasa-pala uyana däkalā
senagat balālā
denna dunu deka ayā siṭalā.

22. äda sära vidinnā
särayak pasu no(ba)yannā
Räma-raja dennā
denna kage daruvō da yannā.

23. himayē upannemi
Pulvan-rajaṭa dā unemi
ek-vemi de-bā vemi
asura sura senagaṭa pasu no-bā vemi.

24. balē tedäti Sītāpati bisavun kusa piḷisiňdetī
kälē tapas rakina lesaṭa kumarun yahanē siṭitī
kaḷē varada Mahā-viṣṇu bisavun piṭivahal vetī
balē tedäti pin-balayen Saňdaliňdu nama pätira yatī.

25. eveni bisavu vanantarē pala-rasa soyamin vaḍitī
eveni kumaru yahan tulē näti bäv rusiyō dakitī
eveni tapasvara säṇekin ī-taṇa kondak kaḍatī
deveni Kistri kiyā kumaru ī-taṇa konden mavatī.

26. balē bōya pera jātiye pin-bala boho sindā
vilē pipuṇa mānel-mala kaḍā ataṭa dun dā
alēsavī pirivara saha teda bala pāmindā
malen upan kumaru kiyā Malaya kumaru nandā.

TRANSLATION

1. "She (Sītā) tore off the leaf of a plaintain tree and drew on it his (Rāvaṇa's) figure. The firm one (Rāma), who knew the nature of women, suspected that she did so through lust for him."

2. "Thereupon he consulted his brother, and being in a fit of rage, gave him his own sword and handed to him his queen so that he might cut her in two."

3. "Then he (Saman) accepted (his brother's) command, and without hesitation took the sword in his right hand and went to the great forest leading Sītā in front of him."

4. "Sītā, who was with child (?), had no misgiving concerning the king's order, and the noble woman was struck with grief when she was sent away by him."

* * *

5. "The tender little infant was in bed, and (Sītā) had gone out in search of fruits. The little one was tired and had slept heavily. It then awoke and cried."

6. "The clever boy was on the bed and the hermit went to look for him; but seeing the bed empty the holy man was perturbed (and thought):

7. "'Could it be a fierce hawk (that has carried away the child)! or could it be a Rākṣasa who turned his heavy steps (this way)! or is it the countless poisonous cobras! Where is the boy to-day!!!'"

8. "'Alas! Have not the silvan dieties seen the child? Has a Rākṣasa of the forest carried him away! What an illusion is this!!'"

9. "The sage then picked up a beautiful lotus and threw it on to the bed together with a magic pill over which he had muttered a charm. Immediately the flower was transformed into a child, which (Sītā) later fed joyfully."

10. "He (the hermit) created a child in the image of the other. The loving mother who had gone far (having come back) took the

child up to her breast, and then her son who was on the ground cried out."

11. " The woman took the two children on her sides and went to the hermitage, and showing them to the sage begged of him to tell her what that miracle meant."

12. " Then the little boy worshipped his royal mother as well as the feet of the sage and said, ' We are two little boys here, but I am the son whom you got first.' "

13. " At those words the queen replied in anger, ' This is all a myth. Unless I see another child created I shall not believe and be consoled.' "

14. " The sage took a blade of sacrificial grass in his hand and having again muttered a charm over it threw it on to the bed. A child, as beautiful as a precious gem, was born of it, and (Sītā) carried all three of them on her sides."

15. " The boy who was born last was named Kitśrī. (The sage) blessed all three of them so that they may be endowed with gentleness, virtue, fame, glory, and power."

16. . . . The beautiful lady, who was satisfied at this (?), fed at her breasts the two children (created by the sage) and protected them ! "

17. " Lovingly did she bring up the boys giving them to eat and drink. While at their sports the boys, who went in pairs (?), used to walk thousands of miles a day."

18. " The two (boys) used to watch where the wild boar fed and shoot their arrows at them, killing two or three at one shot."

19. " They carried on their shoulders the boars they shot, and with their young ones whom they captured alive, they played about in the hermitage grounds."

20. " It was said that the children would not go to the pond of King Rāma. To learn the truth of these words the two brothers (Rāma and Saman) went in search of them and arrived at the (hermit's) pond."

21. " They came to the pond and saw the fruit garden near by. At the sight of the (princes) and their retinue the two (Rāma and his brother) drew their bows."

22. " They drew their bows and let off their arrows ; but the arrows did not fly forth. Then King Rāma and his brother asked the princes, ' Whose children are you ? ' "

23. " (Then came forth the reply) : ' I am the son of Utpalavarṇa

(Viṣṇu), and I was born in this forest. I was alone, but now I have two brothers, and we cannot be subdued even by the hosts of the Asuras or of the gods."

24. "'I was born in the womb of the glorious and majestic Sītāpati, and while yet an infant, I was left alone in the cot as if I were practising austerities in the forest. The great Viṣṇu did wrong when he expelled his queen. I have nevertheless become far-famed as prince Saňdaliňdu by the power of my good deeds in the past.'"

25. "'That queen was away in the forest gathering fruits. The hermit came into the hut and did not see the boy in his cot. Then he quickly plucked a blade of sacrificial grass and created this second prince Kistri (Kitśrī) out of it.'"

26. "'This Prince Malaya—so called because he was born out of a flower—who is endowed with great prowess because of the manifold merits he has acquired in his past births, sprang up when (the hermit) plucked a lotus which blossomed in the pond and placed it in my hand. He now goes about undaunted with his retinue displaying his glory and majesty.'"

There is a Sinhalese version of the Rāmāyaṇa written in prose. It is a translation made from a Dravidian source and may be dated about the eighteenth century. The story given above has no connection with it.

NOTES

1. (*c*). *dirā e-mav* meaning is doubtful. *dirā* = Sanskrit: *dhīrō* ?
2. (*a*). *pā̄* corrected to *bā̄*.
3. (*d*). *himaya* = any forest, not necessarily the Himālaya.
4. (*a*). *karaḍu-barin*: the meaning is not clear. *Karaḍu* (= Sanskrit: *karaṇḍaka*) means a casket. It is perhaps used here as a synonym for *garbha*, thus *karaḍu-barin* = *gāb-barin* (= Skt. *garbha-bhārena*) "heavy with child".
6. (*b*). *dāksē*: may be an error for *duksē* "in grief". (*c*). *tissē* = *sis-sē*, where *s* > *t*, cf. *sesu* > *tesu*, *siras* > *tiras*. (*d*). *viksōpen* = Skt. *vikṣepena*. Perhaps the correct reading is *viksēpen*.
8. (*a*, *c*). *vanē* suits the metre.
9. (*c*). The meaning of *ā pā* is doubtful. *ā* has, however, been taken as "she" and *pā* as "milk" (= Skt. *payas*).
12. (*d*). *mādīlut* corrected to *mādīlat* = *mā* + *ādī* + *lat*. ?
14. (*b*). *eva* corrected to *ema*.
16. (*a*). the meaning is obscure. (*b*). *pirisun* = beautiful, possessing pretty features; cf. Pali: *paricchinna* "measured". (*c*). *dennā mopavannā* may be corrected to: *dennā ma povannā*.
17. (*d*). *nimāḷuven* may mean "in twos", cf. *nimul* "twins".
20. (*a–b*). The construction of these two lines is somewhat confusing.
25, 26. The order of these two stanzas should be reversed.

Lhasa

By E. H. C. WALSH

(PLATES III AND IV)

(The Summary of the Stein Memorial Lecture given on 11th October, 1945, illustrated by thirty lantern slides.)

ALTHOUGH Tibet is a large country, over 900 miles in its greatest length and over 800 miles in its greatest width, with a frontier of over 2,000 miles, very little was known about it before Sir Francis Younghusband's Expedition in 1903–4. The reason for this is its frontiers of high mountain ranges, some of them the highest in the world.

By far the greater part of Tibet consists of the great Northern Plateau of the Chang Thang, a barren country at a height of 15,000 feet, mostly unexplored, and inhabited only by a few nomad herdsmen and roving robber bands. Within its mountain barriers, Tibet itself is also of a mountainous character. This will be seen from the diagram of the route from the plain of India at Silliguri to Lhasa, a distance of 360 miles, within which five successive ranges have to be crossed by passes varying from 14,390 feet to 16,800 feet.

Another factor which has led to the isolation of Tibet is its rigorous climate, which has deterred the people of India from entering it, and also deterred its own people from going down to the unwonted heat of the plains.

But the main cause of the seclusion of Tibet is that its government has excluded all foreigners from entering the heart of the country, the Province of Ü with the capital at Lhasa, and of Tsang with its headquarters at Shigatse; for such explorers who have succeeded in traversing portions of the Northern Plain have always found themselves stopped and turned back by the frontier guards when they reached the borders of the Central Provinces.

The city of Lhasa stands 11,850 feet high on a small level marshy plain, surrounded by mountains, on the bank of the Kyi-Chhu River, a tributary of the Tsang-po, which, when it reaches India at the eastern end of Assam, is known as the Brahmaputra.

As seen from a distance, the outstanding feature of Lhasa is two rocky peaks standing out from the level plain. The one surmounted by the Potala, with its golden roofs glittering in the

sun, and the other, the Chag-po-ri, or "Iron Mountain", surmounted by the Temple and College of Medicine.

One enters Lhasa by a gateway, the Par-go-ka-Ling, passing under a massive Chhorten, between the Potala and the Temple of Medicine.

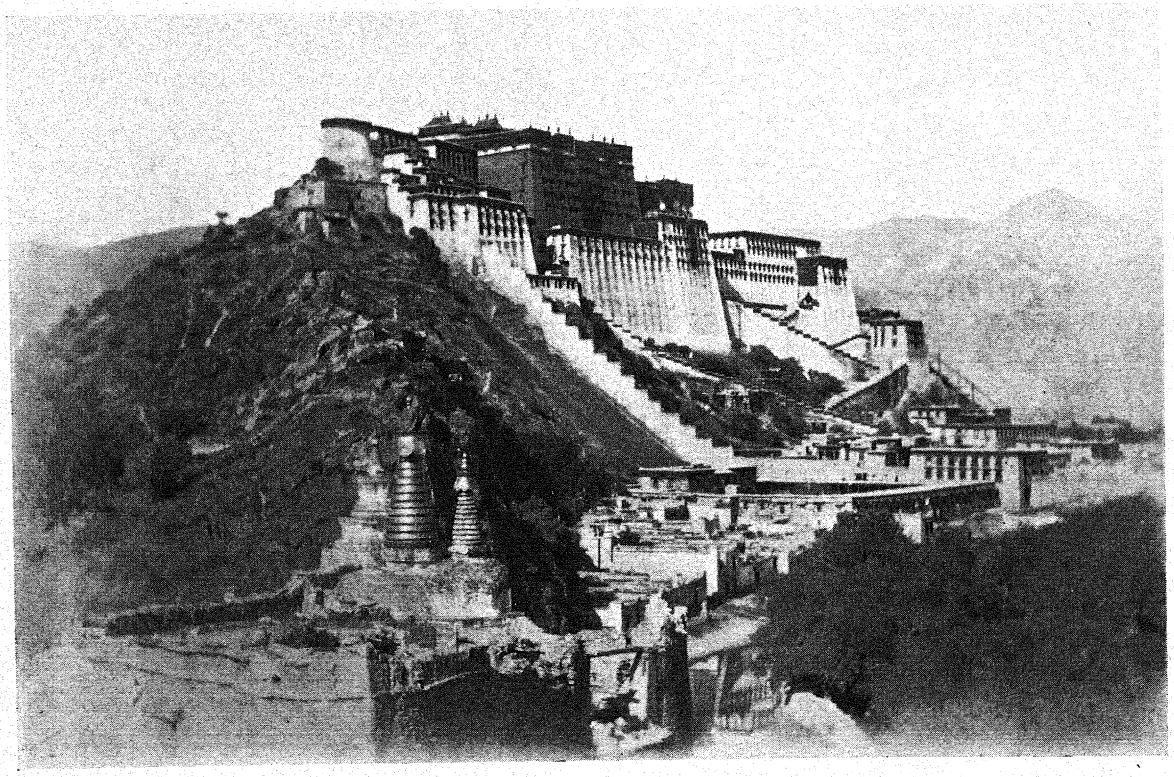
The Potala, the City, and the Chag-po-ri are surrounded by a road called the Ling Khor, "Circle of the Lings," about six miles in length, by which pilgrims circumambulate the sacred city clockwise in the direction of the sun. This direction must also be observed in the case of every sacred place or object in Tibet, keeping the sacred object on the right hand. Some of the more devout do this, measuring their length on the ground, for which they wear, fastened on to their hands and knees, padded shoes studded with iron nails, making a clattering sound as they go.

Within this circular road are the four Royal Monasteries, the Tenge-ling, the Kunde-ling, the Tsomo-ling, and the Tsecho-ling, situated round the city. In the heart of it is the famous Temple of the Jo-wo Khang, the Mecca of the Buddhists of Central Asia and as far as China and Siberia; from it Lhasa, which means "The Place of the God", takes its name.

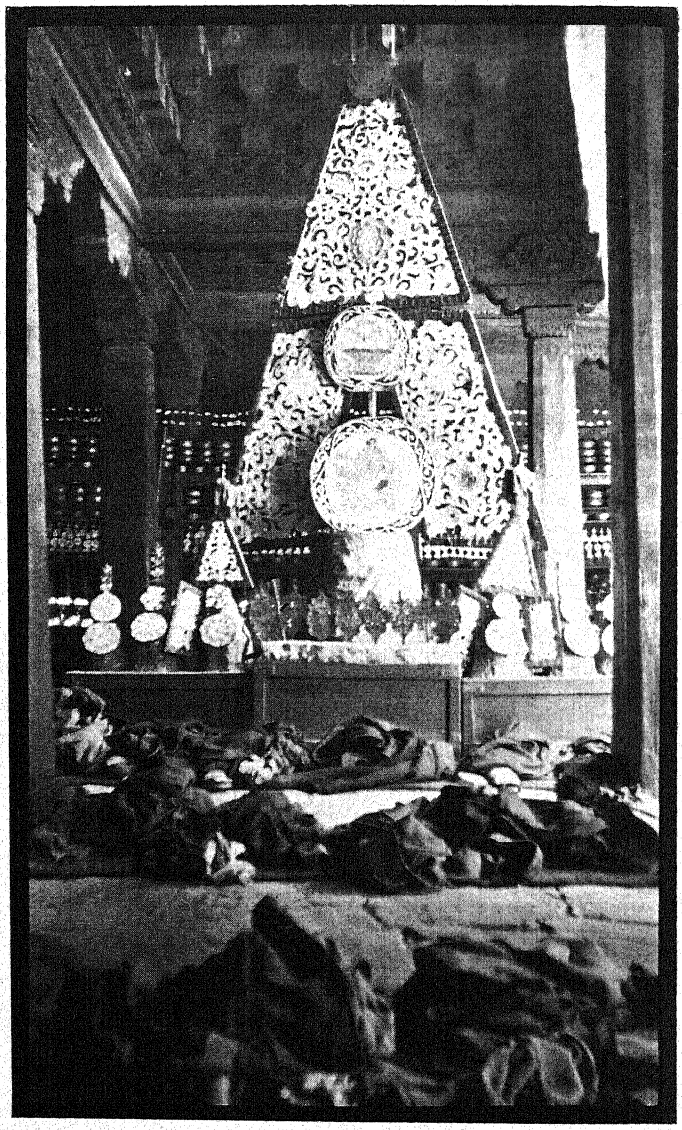
On the cliff-face, beneath the Chag-po-ri, is the Rock of the Thousand Buddhas, on which are carved images of Buddha, varying from a colossal size to a few inches, many of them coloured.

The Potala, the Palace of the Dalai Lama, is probably the most impressive building in the world. Massively built of stone, it is 900 feet long and rising 500 feet from the plain (or 70 feet higher than the Cross on the top of the Dome of St. Paul's Cathedral), is crowned with Golden Roofs that glitter in the sun. Wide flights of steps, contained by strong revetting walls, lead up to it; and its impressiveness is largely due to the impression they give of massive strength.

The upper central part of the building, containing the Chhorten Shrines of the three Dalai Lamas who had obtained their majority and had exercised personal rule, is coloured a dark crimson from which the Potala is known as the Pho-dang Mar-po, "The Red Palace." The Golden Roofs are over this portion of the building. The rest of the building is white-washed annually before the New Year's Festival. A maroon-coloured band runs along the top of the building, as in all the leading monasteries and other important buildings in Tibet. This band is formed by willow shoots tied



The Potala (side view).



THE NEW-YEAR BUTTER TORMA IN THE JO-WO KHANG.

together in bundles mixed with mortar and their ends cut even, as in a truss of hay, which gives a close matt surface, on which the golden monograms show up clearly.

Although the late Dalai Lama, who died in 1933, was the thirteenth Grand Lama and the eighth Dalai, there were only three Chhortens, those of the Fifth, Seventh, and Eighth Dalais; as the Sixth was deposed, on account of his profligate life and did not die in Lhasa, and the last four before the time of the Tibet Expedition had all died under mysterious circumstances on or before attaining their majority, so as to keep the Government under a perpetual Regency, which was more easily controlled by Chinese and other influences. The late Dalai Lama attained his majority and ruled, as it was found necessary to have a stronger rule to resist the attempts of China to impose and strengthen its authority. Since his death in 1933 his Chhorten Shrine has been added, and it has been fully described by Mr. Spencer Chapman, who accompanied Sir Basil Gould in his Mission to Lhasa in 1936, in his book *Lhasa, the Holy City*.

This shrine has involved the extension of the central red portion of the building on its western end, but, as is shown by Mr. Spencer Chapman's photograph, it has not in any appreciable way affected the outline of the building or its general effect.

The name "Potala" is not Tibetan, but is the name of a hill on the southern promontory of India believed to be the abode of the Bodhisatwar deity Avalokiteswar, who under the name of Chen-re-zig, is the most popular deity in Tibet, and is regarded as the guardian of the country. He is represented in his images as having eleven faces. The first Dalai Lama, after he was made ruler of Tibet and given the title of Dalai by the conquering Mongol Prince, Gushi Khan (whose aid he had called in to defeat and suppress the rival earlier non-reformed Red-Cap sect in A.D. 1641), claimed to be the Incarnation of Chen-re-zig, and, therefore, called the palace which he then built "Potala" after that deity's reputed abode.

It is curious to note that the French Lazarist, Father Huc, who visited Lhasa in 1846, mistook the meaning of the name Potala, and wrote: "The palace of the Tale Lama deserves, in every respect the celebrity which it enjoys in the entire world.... This mountain bears the name Bouddha-La, that is to say, the mountain of Bouddha, divine mountain."

He is equally incorrect in his description of the building; for he says: "It is terminated by a dome entirely covered by plates of gold and surrounded by a great peristyle, of which the columns are equally gilded."

The Potala was commenced in A.D. 1643, and was built on the site of the old fort and palace of the early Tibetan kings, which had been destroyed in previous wars.

Inside the red portion of the building there is a large courtyard, on to which the top five storeys of the building open, and over them are the Golden Roofs.

The shape of the Golden Roofs is Chinese. They are made of copper overlaid with a plating of gold, and atop of each are three pinnacles. The edges of the eaves at the bottom of the roofs are elaborately ornamented in deep répoussé work.

The lower storeys of the building are a labyrinth of dark passages off which are treasuries, storehouses, record-rooms of archives, arsenals, and quarters for their guards and a printing press. Each of these lower storeys is reached by a wooden ladder from the storey below.

The upper red portion contains the two throne-rooms, chapels, a monastery of about 150 monks, of which the Dalai Lama is the Abbot, and the Chhortens of the Dalai Lamas, which go through the four top storeys, with chapels opening from them. The rooms on these top storeys are lofty rooms with staircases. Inside this upper part of the building there is a large open courtyard with pillared galleries round it, with doors opening from them giving access to the shrines and chapels.

The New Throne Room is about 60 feet square. The lofty wooden pillars are wrapped round with red cloth, as is usual in Tibetan monasteries. The "Throne" is merely a wooden frame-work on which to put cushions. The gallery and the walls are painted in bright colours. It was in this room that the Treaty with Tibet was signed at the time of Sir Francis Younghusband's Mission.

The Old Throne Room, which is in the same part of the building, is similar. In it the Dalai Lama receives and blesses pilgrims by touching them on the head with a tassel. The base of the Chhorten of the Fifth Dalai Lama adjoins it, and through a grill can be seen the masses of valuable votive offerings that have been offered at the shrine.

The wood carving of the cornices of the corridors is painted in

bright colours. The iron-work on the doors is very elaborate and beautifully finished.

The Chhorten of the Fifth Dalai Lama is about 40 feet high, and runs through four storeys of the building, each of which has a chapel opening on to it. It is said to be made of silver, and is gilded, and covered with precious stones, turquoises, coral, lapis lazuli, and hung with strings of pearls. In it is the embalmed body of the Lama.

The town of Lhasa is half a mile from the Potala. The houses are solidly built of stone with flat roofs, all of much the same height of three storeys; so that there are no outstanding buildings. Even the famous Temple of the Jo-wo Khang is so built round with the Government Council Chambers, and storehouses for archives, Government armouries, etc., and quarters for the Lamas that only its entrance shows, and its Golden Roofs, similar to those of the Potala, cannot be seen from the road.

The town is mostly hidden by the groves of large willows and poplars and walnuts in the parks between it and the Potala, which are a favourite resort of the well-to-do citizens for picnics, for which they pitch brightly coloured tents.

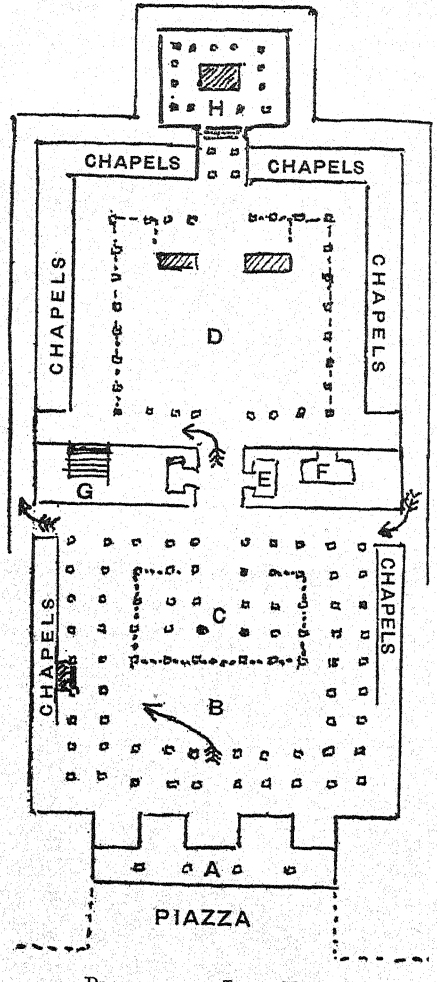
The town of Lhasa is entered by the Yu-tok Zampa, the "Turquoise Bridge", a covered bridge across an old channel which drains the marshes on the north, and flows into the Kyi-chhu River, but is now partly silted up. It is roofed with greenish blue tiles, from which it takes its name. The glaze of which is said to have been made from melted turquoises. It is in no way striking, though the Chinese consider it to be one of the beauties of Lhasa. A guard is stationed at it to examine, if necessary, persons entering the town.

The Temple of the "Jo-wo Khang" ("The House of the Master"), is, on the exterior, an inconspicuous building not higher than adjoining buildings, so that even its golden roofs, which are similar to those of the Potala, cannot be seen anywhere from the road. It contains the famous image of Buddha, from which Lhasa, "The Place of the God," takes its name.

The Temple consists of a vestibule and two courts, beyond which is the Holy of Holies containing the Shrine of the Image of Buddha. The surrounding portion of each court is roofed over, supported by the many tall wooden pillars, and over them in the Inner Court is a second storey, and above it the Golden Roofs. Part of the centre

of each of the courts inside the pillars is open to the air, and covered by a canopy.

This is the only source of light as buildings adjoin the Temple



PLAN OF THE JOWO KHANG.

on every side and there are no windows. Round each of the courts are a series of small chapels containing the altars of various deities.

In the First Court on the lower shelf are "Torma" offerings made of butter, and on the upper shelves rows of hundreds of silver

butter-lamps, and on the floor are heaped the robes of the Lamas, thrown down after services.

An elaborate " Torma ", about 12 feet high, is made of butter elaborately shaped upon leather on a wooden frame-work. It is made annually to ensure the prosperity of the New Year.

Part of the centre of the First Court is enclosed by a metal grill, inside which are shelves for thousands of small silver butter-lamps and offerings.

A dark passage of about nine paces leads to the Inner Court. At the side of it is the chapel and shrine of the " Lu ", the " Water-Serpent ", who keeps under control the waters underlying Lhasa. There is a large slab which is lifted on certain occasions ; the sound of water can then be heard under it, and offerings are thrown down to it.

The walls and beams of both the courts are covered with indistinct paintings faded with age and obscured by the accumulated grime of the thousands of butter-lamps. The whole Temple and the floor are covered with grease from this cause.

In the Inner Court there are two Images of Maitreya (in Tibetan " Jampa "), the Buddha yet to come. The one to the right is of colossal size. Maitreya is always portrayed as seated in a chair, with the legs down, in the Western manner, unlike all other Buddhist Deities who are seated with legs crossed.

In the centre of the Inner Court there is a bright mass of holy-hocks, stocks, asters, and snapdragons planted in large Chinese vases. The people of Lhasa are fond of flowers, and one sees them planted on the window-sills of some of the houses.

From the Inner Court a passage leads to the Holy of Holies, the shrine containing the famous Image of Buddha is protected by a guard of monks who stand before a chain curtain of iron links, fastened down by several padlocks, the key of each of which is held by a separate official. Usually the Image can be seen only through the links of this curtain. I was conducted over the Temple by the Head Abbot who had had the curtain lifted so that the Image could be seen, and I was able to take a photograph of it with a flashlight. I have described the Image in *JRAS.*, October, 1938.

The Chinese say that it was given by the King of Magadha to the Emperor of China for his assistance in driving out the Yavanas and was brought to Lhasa by the Emperor's daughter in A.D. 620, when she married the Tibetan King Srongtsan Gampo. Whether

it was brought by her or by his Nepali wife, there is no doubt that it came from India. It is also said to represent Buddha as a child at the age of eleven. But the Image is a broad-shouldered thick-necked adult, and from the attitude (*mudra*) and open mouth it is Buddha preaching.

The Image is about twice life-size. It is hung over and studded with precious stones, and its crown, presented by the reformer Tsong-Khapa early in the fifteenth century, is covered with large uncut gems.

On the shelves in front of it are large butter-lamps of solid gold, more than a foot across, as well as other golden ornaments.

The Gilded Dragons on either side were presented by one of the Chinese Emperors.

Outside the Shrine along the ambulatory round it colossal figures of Deity " Guardians " loom from the darkness.

THE BELL. From the roof of the narrow passage leading to the Holy of Holies there hangs a large bell which has a special interest of which the Lamas were not aware ; for cut into it are the words " Te Deum Laudamus ", and it is, therefore, the only remaining relic of the Catholic Mission which existed in Lhasa for fifty-five years from A.D. 1716 to 1760, and was allowed to build a chapel. The Abbot could not or would not give any information about the bell, or how it came to be placed there, and though we made inquiries about the Mission, when in Lhasa, no information about it could be obtained, or even of it having existed.

In an upper storey round the Inner Court reached by a stone staircase are two shrines ; one of the Terrific Goddess Palden Lhamo, who corresponds to the Hindu goddess Kali, and the other, of the merciful goddess Dolma, " The Saviour." The Image is made of gold and is draped with rich brocades and hung with jewels. In front of it are golden butter-lamps, among which numbers of small light brown mice are running about. They are believed to be the spirits of former Lamas who have served the Shrine.

The Tibetans believe that Queen Victoria was an incarnation of this Goddess. They knew her effigy from the Indian rupee, and were at first unwilling to take rupees bearing the head of Edward VII. Dolma is a very popular deity in Tibet, and is very common as a woman's name.

All the Tibetan shops in Lhasa are kept by women, even the butchers' shops, though men do the cutting up of the carcasses.

The goods are displayed on the road, sometimes on trestles, but more usually spread out on the ground. Chinese shops are indoors with a counter.

A curious feature of Lhasa are the Ro-gyapas, " Corpse-carriers," who are also the general scavengers. They are compelled by custom to live in low filthy hovels, scarcely high enough to stand in, built entirely of the horns of sheep and cattle, where they live on the outskirts of the town in indescribable squalor. Their chief duty is to cut up the corpses, which is the usual method of disposing of the dead, as only the bodies of high officials and Lamas and those who have died of an infectious disease are burned. The corpse is carried in a sack on the back to the " Cemetery " by the Ro-gyapa, or by a member of the deceased's family, if he wishes, and is then placed on a stone slab and cut up by the Ro-gyapa, and the pieces are thrown to be devoured by dogs and vultures, and, in Lhasa, also by pigs. I was told that a special breed of dogs like wolves used to be kept for the purpose, but that they have become extinct. A Lama accompanies the body and chants funeral prayers. There are five such cemeteries around Lhasa. The Ro-gyapas are said to demand exhorbitant fees for their services, though they are supposed to be paid by the State.

The Early History of the Gotras

By JOHN BROUGH

THERE are few aspects of Vedic civilization and history more neglected by modern scholars than the organization of ancient Brahmanical society in exogamous clans. It is, of course, recognized that from the time of the Sūtras to the present day the rule has always been that, as well as marrying within his caste, a Brahman must marry outside his own *gotra*; but further than this few have cared to inquire. The reason for this neglect is no doubt in part the extraordinary state of textual corruption in which our chief sources, the *Pravara-adhyāyas* of the Śrauta Sūtras, have come down to us,[1] as well as the suspicion, not altogether justified, that the material contained in them is not truly "historical", or at least has suffered a considerable amount of "künstliche Behandlung".[2]

Nevertheless, the main facts of the system, as seen in the Sūtra texts, are quite certain; and taken in conjunction with the evidence which can be collected from the earlier literature, they provide a most interesting picture of the growth of Brahmanical society. From the point of view of Indian studies, the most important result of the present investigation is the light thrown on the nature of the so-called "hymn-families" of the Ṛgveda. Of more general interest is the fact that Senart used the exogamous nature of the gotras, which he considered to be subdivisions of the endogamous "caste", as an argument for the Indo-European origin of the caste-system, comparing for this purpose the clans of the ancient Greeks and Romans. This argument has met with much opposition, chiefly on the ground that it is not until Sūtra times that the prohibition of inter-gotra marriage appears in the Indian sources. But it is clear that neither the argument nor a categorical statement to the contrary can hope to have conclusive value without a preliminary review of the history of the gotras.

The most detailed study of the subject that has appeared up to the present is Zimmer's dissertation, "Studien zur Geschichte

[1] I have collected all the material available for the textual study of these lists, and hope to be able to publish a full account in the not too distant future.

[2] Oldenberg, "Ueber die Liedverfasser des Ṛigveda," *ZDMG* 42, (1888), p. 235 n.

der Gotras" (Berlin, 1914). In this he has argued that the Bhṛgus and Angirases, or rather, the Bhṛgvangirases, were the oldest, and, in fact, the original gotra. His argument falls into two main parts. First, he takes a representative selection of the Vedic literature, from the Yajus Saṃhitās to the Prātiśākhyas, Yāska and Pāṇini. From these he has collected the names of persons mentioned, and, with the aid of the Sūtra pravara-chapters, has tried to attribute as many as possible of these names to their respective gotras. The result, in spite of a number of undeterminable cases, is a decided preponderance of Bhṛgvangiras names. Thus, for the Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, his figures are, Bhṛgvangiras, 188; total of other gotras (Atris, Viśvāmitras, Kaśyapas, Vasiṣṭhas, Agastis), 101; undetermined, 117. So, too, of the determinable names in the Nirukta, two-thirds are Bhṛgvangiras; and for the Sāman-titles (named after persons) from the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, the figures are: undetermined, 24; Bhṛgus and Angirases, 61; other gotras, 8.

The *vaṃśas* from the Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad, Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa, and the Vaṃśa Brāhmana of the Sāma Veda are treated separately, consisting as they do of three parts, the first mythical; the second largely made up of names mentioned in the body of the texts and thus doubtless representing the formative period of the doctrines; and the third consisting of the names of teachers who have handed on the works in their completed form. The second part is thus homogeneous with the collections already made from the other texts; but the third may be taken to represent a later period. For this third period Zimmer (while admitting that the division between the second and the third period is not always easy to determine exactly) gives the figures: Bhṛgus and Angirases, 41; Atris, 7; Viśvāmitras, 21; Kaśyapas, 15; Vasiṣṭhas, 29; Agastis, 0. From this it is concluded that in this later period the Bhṛgus and Angirases receded somewhat into the background in comparision with the Viśvāmitras and Vasiṣṭhas.

In the second part of his discussion Zimmer notes that the Sūtra lists bear out the conclusions of the first part, by their distribution of the subdivisions among the major families. Thus, for example, the Āśvalāyana pravara chapter includes 46 sub-families under the headings of Bhṛgus and Angirases, as against only 33 subdivisions for the remaining five gotras. In the Āpastamba list the proportion

is 44 to 32. The assumption is that the older a gotra is, the more time it will have had to subdivide. Finally, the Bhṛgus and Angirases have a separate and distinctive formula in the so-called *yatharṣy ādhānam*, they alone of the gotras are traditionally connected with the discovery of fire, and with the legend of the sacrificial contest against the gods ; and are, in fact, gods themselves in many Vedic hymns ; all these facts go to show that they were the oldest among the gotras, and that they were at one time the sole priests of the community.

Now Zimmer's work is of great interest, and his collections of names are of considerable value. There are, however, a number of comments to be made on the above arguments. In the first place, it is not made clear what is meant by a *gotra* in the discussion, and it is far from being obvious what the social implications might be of a proposition such as " The Bhṛgus and Angirases are the oldest of the gotras ". Also Zimmer seems to have overlooked completely the nature of these two groups in the Sūtra accounts. If we consider these accounts by themselves, without reference to earlier history, we find that the society they describe was made up of eighteen exogamous groups. We may for convenience call these groups *gotras*, but it must be clearly noted that this terminology is not that of the texts, and that the commentators are at pains to maintain that the application of the term *gotra* say, to the exogamous group of the Viṣṇuvṛddhas, is a mere convention, an " *aupacārikaḥ parāmarśajaḥ prayogaḥ* ".[1] From the traditional point of view, therefore, only eight of the exogamous units are *gotras* properly so-called. These are the Jamadagnis, Gautamas, Bharadvājas, Atris, Viśvāmitras, Kaśyapas, Vasiṣṭhas, and Agastyas. The remaining ten groups who make up the so-called " Kevala Āngirasas ", and " Kevala Bhārgavas ", are properly called *gaṇas*, a name which is also given to the primary subdivisions of the *gotras* proper. Although it is not explicitly stated in the texts, it is clear that the distinctive mark of a *gaṇa* in this sense is the possession of a common pravara, while a *gotra* is a collection of *gaṇas* whose pravaras (normally) have at least one name in common. Now, the Sūtra accounts are classified by pravara, and are not primarily concerned with the question of exogamy. Therefore the " Kevala " gaṇas are included under the headings of Bhṛgus and Angirases, and their status as independent exogamous units is therefore

[1] Gārgya Nārāyaṇa, on Āśv. ŚS. 12.10.1.

masked. The following table illustrates the structure of Brahmanical society as envisaged by the Sūtra pravara-adhyāyas :—

	Gotras	Gaṇas
Bhṛgus	*Jamadagnis*	Vatsas Bidas Ārṣṭiṣeṇas
		Yaskas
		Śunakas
		Mitrayus
		Vainyas
Angirases	*Gautamas*	Āyāsyas Aucathyas Auśijas Rāhūgaṇas, etc.
	Bharadvājas	Bharadvājas Gargas Ṛkṣas, etc.
		Haritas
		Kaṇvas
		Rathītaras
		Mudgalas
		Saṃkṛtis
		Viṣṇuvṛddhas
Other Gotras	*Atris*	Atris Vādbhutakas Gaviṣṭhiras, etc.
	Viśvāmitras	Kuśikas Katas Dhanaṃjayas, etc.
	Kaśyapas	Nidhruvas Rebhas Śaṇḍilas Laugākṣis
	Vasiṣṭhas	Vasiṣṭhas Kuṇḍinas Upamanyus Parāśaras, etc.
	Agastyas	Idhmavāhas Somavāhas Agastis, etc.

In this table, the exogamous units are given in italics. It is clear that the so-called Kevala gaṇas, the Yaskas, Śunakas, Haritas,

Kaṇvas, etc., are thus on an equal footing, from the point of view of exogamy, with the gotras of the Atris, Viśvāmitras, and the rest. But from the point of view of the Sūtra classification by *pravara*, they are comparable rather with the subdivisions of these gotras. The *pravara*, which is well-known as an element in the Śrauta ritual from the time of the Brāhmaṇa portions of the Yajus Saṃhitās consists essentially of a number of (suppositious) ancestral names, one, two, three, or five. These are recited as an address to the Āhavanīya fire by the Hotṛ, and later in the rite by the Adhvaryu, during the ceremony of kindling the fire at the beginning of *iṣṭis* and animal sacrifices. For example, in the case of the Atris proper, the Hotṛ addresses Agni as "Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Śyāvāśva", i.e., "O Agni, who belong to Atri, etc."; while the Adhvaryu says "Śyāvāśvavad Arcanānovad Atrivat".

The pravara-adhyāyas, which form appendices to the Śrauta Sūtras, have as their chief purpose to act as guides to the Hotṛ and Adhvaryu priests, to enable them to recite the correct pravara according to the gotra of the sacrificer. It may be remarked in passing that this is probably why only the Sūtras of the Ṛk and Yajus seem to have been provided with these lists. The pravara groupings, however, do not exactly coincide with the exogamous units. The families are arranged in the lists under the headings of the chief names in the pravaras. Almost every pravara contains one of the names Bhṛgu, Angiras, Atri, Viśvāmitra, Kaśyapa, Vasiṣṭha, or Agastya; and accordingly these seven groups form the basis of the Sūtra classification. But by the time that the lists were compiled, the pravara had come to be used as a guide to the rule of exogamy. With the passage of time the families had repeatedly subdivided, but the unit of exogamy remained the larger group. Moreover, the word *gotra* came to be used to denote not only the exogamous group, but also was loosely applied to individual families within the group. Therefore, to say "A man must not marry within his own *gotra*" was no longer adequate. Here, most conveniently, the pravara-system was at hand to provide a definition of which "gotra" was intended. It was not the "*laukika-gotra*", the family in everyday parlance, but the "*ārṣa-gotra*", family as determined by the ṛṣi-names (in the pravara). Hence we find the rule *asamānapravarair vivāhaḥ*,[1] *asamāna-ṛṣi-gotra-jātām*

[1] Gaut. Dh. Sūtra 3.2; Vārāha Gṛ. Sūtra 10.2

(udvahet),[1] *asamānārṣagotrajām*,[2] *asamānārṣa-pravarā, asagotrā*.[3] Baudhāyana further defines the position: eka eva ṛṣir yāvat pravareṣv anuvartate, tāvat samānagotratvam *anyatra bhṛgvangirasāṃ gaṇāt*,[4] that is, except in the case of the Bhṛgus and Angirases the identity of one ṛṣi-name in the pravaras is sufficient to prevent intermarriage. In the case of the five "other gotras", the exogamous group coincides exactly with the pravara-group, so that, for example, all the members of the Vasiṣṭha exogamous unit have the one pravara-name "Vāsiṣṭha" in common, although the other names vary according to the gaṇa. In the case of the Bhṛgus and Angirases, however, the pravara-groups each contained a number of exogamous units, and the rule was ingeniously adapted to their needs by requiring in their case a majority of identical ṛṣi-names in the pravaras before intermarriage was prohibited. The result of applying these rules is the classification given in the table above.

From this it is clear that it is impossible to consider the Bhṛgus and Angirases as single *gotras*, comparable to the gotras of the Vasiṣṭhas, Viśvāmitras, etc., unless, indeed, we define the word in the special sense of pravara-group. It is, of course, of no importance which sense we choose to give to the word in a modern discussion; but unless it is clearly stated which sense is intended, only confusion can result. Zimmer's argument throughout is vitiated by his failure to distinguish clearly the nature of the groups which form the subject of his investigation. Thus, in his lists, he labels a name as "Bhṛgu" or "Angiras" or "Atri" or "Vasiṣṭha", as if all the cases were precisely parallel, and he speaks of the Bhṛgus and Angirases as "gotras". But in commenting upon the figures he has obtained from the prose texts (p. 18), he says, "The Angirases contain the two gotras of the Bharadvājas and Gautamas, but the figures show that this cannot be the cause of their superiority in numbers, since if for the sake of comparison the figure for the Viśvāmitras is doubled (forming as it does approximately the average of those for the Kaśyapas and Vasiṣṭhas) it would still be only half as large as that of the Angirases. The gotra of the Bhṛgus, *which includes the Jāmadagnyas* (my italics) comes next after the Angirases in size, and plays somewhat the same role as would the next largest, that of the Kaśyapas, with the addition of the scantily represented

[1] Vaikhānasa Sūtra 3.2.
[2] Yājñavalkya 1.3.53.
[3] Viṣṇu-smṛti 24.9.
[4] Baudh. Śrauta Sūtra, pravarādhyāya 2.

Ātreyas. Bhṛgus and Angirases in many cases cannot be distinguished; if one adds together their three columns (i.e. the columns labelled by Zimmer Bhṛgu, Angiras, and—where the ascription is not clearly established by the Sūtra lists—Bhṛgu-Angiras) in which three Mūla-gotras are contained, they are about twice as numerous as the other five Mūla-gotras together".

It is astonishing that Zimmer should have omitted here all consideration of the Kevala gaṇas, especially since a very large number of the names labelled by him "Bhṛgu" or "Angiras" must be attributed to these gaṇas. The fact is that the Bhṛgus, in addition to the Jamadagnis, contain four independent exogamous units, and the Angirases include among their numbers not only the *gotras* of the Gautamas and Bharadvājas, but also six Kevala *gaṇas* equal in status with them. Zimmer is, of course, right in saying that the two groups contain only three "Mūla-gotras", inasmuch as the texts do not allow the name *gotra* to the Kevala gaṇas. But if only these three are taken into account, it is quite indefensible to have included in the reckoning, as Zimmer has done, a multitude of names which have no connection with these whatever, but are Kevala Bhārgavas and Kevala Āngirasas.

If, instead of the pravara-groups, we take as the basis of comparison the eighteen exogamous units of the Sūtra accounts, the statistics collected by Zimmer appear in a very different light. It must, of course, be admitted that the comparison of the exogamous units in this way cannot be more than a rough guide, since it is certain that these units varied considerably in size; in fact, to judge by the length of the lists in the Sūtras, the proportion of the combined Bhṛgu and Angiras families to the others is approximately 1 : 1 instead of 13 : 5. To take a sample merely from Zimmer's lists: of seven names from the Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā given by him as Angirases, three are Gautamas (all Āruṇis), one a Bharadvāja, two Haritas, and one a Kaṇva. The situation in the other works is similar, and his totals of 188 for the 13 Bhṛgu and Angiras groups as against 101 for the remaining 5 gotras may be taken as reasonably representative of the historical facts.

We may, therefore, reverse Zimmer's argument, and instead of saying that the Sūtra lists bear out the figures collected from the literature, say that the distribution of the gotras in the earlier literature substantially corroborates the trustworthiness of the Sūtra accounts.

At the same time it must be confessed that Zimmer's statistics leave much to be desired. The large number of names in his lists which do not occur in the Sūtras, and are therefore for the most part not attributable to any specific gotra, is a serious drawback. Still, the probability is that they will be distributed among the families in much the same manner as the determined names. Zimmer has to some small extent improved the position by supplementing the information of the Sūtras by the notices of the Anukramaṇī of the Ṛgveda, and occasionally also by arguments, not always convincing, drawn from the texts themselves. Thus a considerable number of names are labelled by him "Bhṛgu-Angiras" solely because they begin with the word *sātya-*. As he points out, twenty or so names with this prefix occur in the Sūtra lists, all of them among the Bhṛgus and Angirases. Statistically, it is highly improbable that this is purely the result of chance. But the evidence is really too slender to support the conclusion that none of the other gotras had names of this type. Zimmer, however, is so certain that his theory is correct that, when faced with the name *Vāsiṣṭha Sātyahavya*, he is forced to attribute it to the Angirases rather than to the Vasiṣṭhas. This, although improbable at first sight, may be so; and it is possible to conjecture that a name of this sort might have arisen through adoption, so that the person in question would be a *dvigotra*, or *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa*, as the texts say. But at the very least such cases must stand as a warning against undue certainty in such attributions.

More serious is the fact that the same name occurs occasionally in the Sūtra lists in more than one gotra. In a number of such cases, it is true, this is the result of textual corruption, and there is always a tendency for well-known names to displace more unusual ones. Still, it is undeniable that the family names were not necessarily peculiar to any one gotra. Thus, Āyaḥsthūṇa occurs not only among the Kaśyapas, but also among the Vasiṣṭhas; Pippalāda (not attributed by Zimmer) not only among the Vasiṣṭhas, but probably also among the Kaśyapas. Uddālaka Āruṇi is known as a Gautama, but the name Auddālaki occurs also among the Atris. In cases of this sort, which are sufficiently frequent to deserve attention, Zimmer usually gives only the one attribution, and passes over the other in silence. The name Tārkṣya is noted by him as a Vaiśvāmitra on the authority of the Laugākṣi Sūtra and the Matsya

Purāṇa, and as a Bhārgava (actually among the Mitrayus) on the authority of the Baudhāyana Sūtra. The forms actually occurring in the Sūtras are Tārkṣyāyaṇi and Tārkṣyāyaṇa respectively. But the name Tārkṣya also occurs in the pravara of the Kevala Āngirasa family of the Mudgalas, and it is possible that this is the correct attribution in the present case.

Another possible source of error, though of less weight, is the uncertainty of the text of the lists in many places. A few of Zimmer's attributions must be classed as suspect on this score. For example, he gives Upakosala Kāmalāyana as a Vaiśvāmitra on the authority of the Matsya Purāṇa (*kāmalāyaninaḥ*); but a comparison of the other texts makes it probable that the name in the Purāṇa is an error for Kāmukāyaninaḥ. It is unfortunate that Zimmer had not undertaken a textual study of the Sūtra lists. He would then have realized that the list given in the Matsya Purāṇa is not an independent authority, but is founded on the same original as the "Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi" list, and, in the published editions of the Purāṇa, presents a text so hopelessly corrupted as to be worse than useless by itself. Moreover, a greater familiarity with the Sūtra texts would have enabled him not only to avoid such gross errors as the statement that the account given by the Saṃskāra-kaustubha is especially closely related to that of the "White Yajur-Veda Pariśiṣṭa" printed by Weber in his catalogue of the Berlin manuscripts,[1] but also to attribute to gotras quite a considerable number of the names which he has left undetermined. To take a few examples at random: Śucivṛkṣa, Śailāli, Āśvalāyana occur among the Vasiṣṭhas; Kātyāyana and Ānabhimlāta among the Viśvāmitras; Āgrāyaṇa among the Kaśyapas: and so forth. More surprisingly, such well-known names as Vātsya, Maudgalya, and Hārita are left without attribution.

These criticisms are made with no intention of disparaging the statistical method as such. In historical and linguistic studies the method promises to be as useful a tool for the interpretation of data as it has already proved itself in the biological sciences. It is, however, essential that the data should be collected with the greatest possible care. It is not sufficient to collect figures; the

[1] Still more extraordinary is his failure to distinguish between the genuine *pravarādhyāya* in this MS. and the medieval *pravara-nirṇaya* which has been appended to it.

first requisite is to know what the figures represent. Zimmer, by overlooking the distinction between pravara-groups and exogamous gotras, lays himself open to a serious misinterpretation of his results. The blemishes in his material itself—uncertain attributions, and so forth—do not, of course, mean that the results are to be dismissed out of hand, since allowance can be made for such factors in assessing the trustworthiness of the figures. But it is clear that Zimmer's figures, apart from providing a general confirmation of the Sūtra pravara-adhyāyas, can really teach us very little new. They are certainly altogether inadequate to prove his chief contention, that the Bhṛgus and Angirases were "the oldest of the gotras". It is, in fact, to quite different matters that one must look for indications of the earlier history of the system. Before turning to these, however, it is desirable to consider another important body of evidence, namely that presented by the grammar of Pāṇini and the Gaṇapāṭha.

Pāṇini, as is well known, gives a detailed account of the methods of forming patronymics,[1] in the course of which he defines the word *gotra* for the purposes of his grammar: *apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti gotram*, "a gotra is a man's descendants from the grandson onwards." This is at first sight far removed from the major exogamous "*gotras*", and the situation is further complicated by the introduction of a new term, *yuvan*, which is applied to the name of a "descendant from the grandson onward" if there should be still living a direct male ancestor (*vaṃśya*), an elder brother, or (in this last case optionally) an elder relative within the *sapiṇḍa* degree of relationship. Thus, for example, the *gotra*-name derived from Garga will be Gārgya, while the *yuvan*-name will be Gārgyāyaṇa. On the other hand, the son of Garga will be Gārgi. The explanation has therefore been given[2] that the grandson of Garga will be called Gārgya, but if Gārgi is still alive, Gārgyāyaṇa. This, however, is too narrow an interpretation. It suggests, moreover, that these derivations may be formed from any personal name. This was certainly not Pāṇini's intention, and the commentators expressly rule out such formations as Daivadattāyana. Nor does it provide an explanation of why Pāṇini should have used the expression *gotra*. An answer to this question is attempted by

[1] In particular, 4.1.76 ff. The definitions come at 4.1.162 ff.
[2] Vasu, *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, i, p. 623.

Puruṣottama-paṇḍita,[1] who maintained that Pāṇini's definition was to be taken together with that of the Baudhāyana pravara-adhyāya:

viśvāmitro jamadagnir bharadvājo 'tha gautamaḥ
atrir vasiṣṭhaḥ kaśyapa ity ete sapta ṛṣayaḥ;

saptānām ṛṣīṇām agastyāṣṭamānāṃ yad apatyaṃ tad gotram ity ucyate. For, says Puruṣottama, without some such restriction, even a Cāṇḍāla might on Pāṇini's definition claim the distinction of gotra. It is, in fact, quite probable that Pāṇini was influenced in framing his rule by the memory of some such definition as Baudhāyana's. But it must be observed that the two definitions apply essentially to different things. Baudhāyana is defining the word *gotra* in its application to the major exogamous groups: the descendants of any one of the Seven Ṛṣis and Agastya constitute the gotra designated by the name of the eponymous ṛṣi. Puruṣottama, it is true, rejects this quite obvious explanation with a fatuous display of commentatorial ingenuity, chiefly because the Sūtra text says, immediately before the definition that there are "thousands and millions of gotras"; and an orthodox commentator could not believe that an inspired Sūtra-author might use the same word with different connotations, or, as is more likely, that the passage in question is a patchwork of older aphorisms. In Pāṇini, on the other hand, the word *gotra* has a much wider range of meaning. From the examples both in the text and in the commentaries, it is clear that as well as designating the major divisions, it also applies to the smaller social groups, viz. the *gaṇas* mentioned above and, even more frequently, the individual names which the more detailed Sūtra accounts list as subdivisions of these gaṇas. Now it is certain that the word was popularly applied to all these types of groupings, but that Pāṇini should use a seemingly inexact technical term calls for explanation. The clue to the whole situation seems to lie in the introduction of the term *yuvan*. There is, in fact, a unit of social organization where precisely this differentiation might be imagined to hold, namely the patriarchal Great-family, or *kula* (literally, "household"). Within the community each of these *kulas* would, one may reasonably suppose, designate itself

[1] *Gotrapravara-mañjarī*, ed. P. Chentsal Rao, Mysore, 1900, pp. 141 ff. So, too, Gārgya Nārāyaṇa, Ct. to Āśv. Śr. Sūtra, 12.10.1: vyākaraṇa-smṛtiś cāpy asyā (scil. baudhāyanasya smṛteḥ) na bādhikā sāmānyaviśeṣarūpatvāt tayoḥ.

by its gotra-name, that is, in the first place the name of its exogamous gotra. But it is obvious that for practical purposes a name like Vāsiṣṭha, etc., is too inexact: it is very probable that there will be several *kulas* belonging to that group living in the same neighbourhood. It is therefore to be expected that these families will differentiate themselves by the use of the names of the subordinate groups, especially in the case of junior branches of families. This view, in fact, agrees well with the evidence of the Sūtra lists, where, for example, the name Bhāradvāja appears not only as the name of an exogamous unit, but also as a *gaṇa*, and is again repeated as an individual family among the subdivisions of that gaṇa. If then we take Pāṇini's rule as applying to the Great-families the situation is at once clarified. The "head of the family", the patriarch, will normally be addressed by the *gotra*-name, but the younger male members of the family by the *yuvan*-name. Thus, the normal situation will be, not that Gārgya will be called Gārgyāyaṇa as long as Gārgi is alive, but that any male member of the Gārgya-kula will be called Gārgyāyaṇa, except the head of the household, who is called Gārgya simply. This interpretation is in accord with the Vārttikas which teach the use of the *yuvan*-name as an alternative to the *gotra*-name if respect is intended, and the reverse if disrespect is to be shown. This rather quaint usage seems at first sight to be the opposite of what might have been expected, but if its implications are considered it is clear enough. For if a junior Gārgyāyaṇa is addressed as Gārgya, it is implied that his father, and indeed all his elder male relatives, are already as good as dead; while to call the head of the household by his *yuvan*-name is indirectly to pay respect to the memory of his dead father. It would seem that the reason for the restriction "from the grandson onwards" is simply to exclude the direct patronymic, and there is in fact every reason to believe that, at all events in the majority of cases in Pāṇini's time, the founders of the gotras, Garga, etc., already belonged to the past. The important point is that Pāṇini is giving rules for the grammatical formation of gotra-names, and it is not legitimate to conclude that the gotras themselves were still in process of formation.

It must, of course, be borne in mind that Pāṇini's account does not explicitly describe the social situation. As in the rest of the grammar it is taken for granted that the context is familiar to students of the work. The numerous exceptions and irregularities

also tend to confuse the picture, and even with the aid of the commentators the details are not always certain. But the main outline of the system of nomenclature described by Pāṇini seems to be as follows: the *gotra*-name is normally formed from the præpositus by vṛddhi and the suffix -ya or -a (thus Gārgya, Baida, etc.), and the *yuvan*-name by the suffix -āyana. This may be taken theoretically to be the basic situation, though it is, of course, doubtful whether the actual usage ever corresponded to it exactly. At all events, by Pāṇini's time the usage had become much more complex, so that some families used the *gotra* form of the name to the exclusion of the *yuvan*, while in others the reverse had taken place. Thus, by 2.4.59 (*pailādibhyaś ca*), the names in the gaṇa *pailādi* refrain from forming the yuvan-derivative [1]; while by 4.1.98, 99 (*gotre kuñjādibhyaś cphañ; naḍādibhyaḥ phak*), the forms Kauñjāyanya, Nāḍāyana, etc., serve for *gotra*-names. And in fact Nāḍāyana duly appears in the pravara-lists among the Vatsa-Bhṛgus.

The correspondences between the pravara-adhyāyas and Pāṇini, together with the Gaṇa-pāṭha, are too numerous to list here in full, but a few cases of particular interest may be noted. For example the names Śaradvat, Śunaka, and Darbha take the suffix -āyana for gotra-names when they are used in the sense of a Bhṛgu, a Vatsa, and an Āgrāyaṇa respectively (Pāṇ. 4.1.102). Corresponding to this, the pravara-lists give the family-names Śāradvatāyana among the Vatsa-Bhṛgus, but Śāradvata as a gaṇa of the Gautama-Angirases; Śaunakāyana among the Vatsa-Bhṛgus, but Śaunaka as a Kevala-Bhṛgu gaṇa. The correspondence in the third case is not so good; but the Āgrāyaṇas are Nidhruva-Kaśyapas, and the Baudhāyana list gives a Dārbhāyaṇa among the Laugākṣi-Kaśyapas, while Dārbhya occurs among the Haritas,[2] Dārbhi among the Vatsas (so "Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi", while Baudhāyana has here Dārbhāyaṇa), and among the Bharadvājas (Baudhāyana). Similarly Kapi and Bodha have the suffix -ya in the sense of an Āngirasa (4.1.107); and the pravara-lists accordingly have Kāpya and Baudhya, the latter among the Āyāsya-Gautamas (Baudhāyana), but Baudhi among the Vasiṣṭhas. So, too, Vaikarṇeya and Kauṣītakeya are taught by Pāṇini in the sense of Kaśyapas (4.1.124); and the two names duly appear together in the Baudh-

[1] Böhtlingk's interpretation, "Paila heisst sowohl der Vater als auch der Sohn,' is too narrow.

[2] Cf. gaṇa *kurvādi*, 4.1.151.

āyana list; but Vaikarṇya among the Vatsas, precisely as is taught in Pāṇini (4.1.117)—though "Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi" with the Mānava list have Vaikarṇi at this place. From the Gaṇapāṭha we may note Bāleya, Hāleya, and Kaudreya, from the gaṇa *gṛṣṭyādi*, the same names recurring together among the Ātreya Putrikā-putras in the pravara lists. Most interesting is the occurrence in the gaṇa *aśvādi* of the two entries *ātreya bharadvāje*, *bharadvāja ātreye*, i.e. the *gotra*-name is Bhāradvājāyana when an Ātreya is meant; conversely, Ātreyāyaṇa when a Bharadvāja is meant. This is duly confirmed by the pravara lists, the family of the Bhāradvājāyanas being included under the Atris, and the Ātreyāyaṇas among the Bharadvājas.

It would be possible to cite many more cases of correspondence; so frequent, in fact, is the occurrence of gotra-names in the Gaṇapāṭha, that the latter is by far the most useful external source for the textual criticism of the Sūtra lists. But for our present purpose sufficient has been quoted to show that the system as known to Pāṇini did not differ fundamentally from that described by the Sūtra pravara-adhyāyas. It is, in fact, highly probable that Pāṇini was acquainted with a pravara-adhyāya, though it is, of course, not certain that this was any one of the texts which have come down to us.[1]

[1] For a classified account of the patronymics evidenced by Pāṇini, see Theophil Gubler's dissertation "Die Patronymica im Alt-Indischen", Göttingen, 1903. Gubler, however, has not understood the significance of the terms *gotra* and *yuvan* in Pāṇini, and seems to have been unaware of the application of the word *gotra* except as a term of grammar. He therefore tries to explain the use of *gotra*-names as a means of distinguishing, by means of the grandfather's name, or that of a famous ancestor, men whose fathers' names were the same (pp. 36–8).

(To be continued.)

The Date of Śyāmilaka's *Pādatāḍitaka*

By T. BURROW

IN 1922 a collection of four *Bhāṇas* was published from South Indian Manuscripts under the title of *Caturbhāṇī* by M. Ramakrishna Kavi and S. K. Ramanatha Sastri. In a short introduction the editors discussed the age and authorship of these works and assigned them varying degrees of antiquity. As the type of dramatic composition in Sanskrit known as *bhāṇa*, although ancient in origin, had hitherto been represented only by very modern examples, it was naturally a matter of considerable interest and importance for literary history, if the plays should turn out to belong to an early period as the editors claimed.

The dramas are: (1) *Padmaprābhṛtaka* by Śūdraka, (2) *Dhūrtaviṭasaṃvāda* by Īśvaradatta, (3) *Ubhayābhisārikā* by Vararuci, and (4) *Pādatāḍitaka* by Śyāmilaka. At the end of *Padmaprābhṛtaka* is found a verse which speaks of the four authors of these plays:—

Vararucir Īśvaradattaḥ Śyāmilakaḥ Śūdrakaś ca catvāraḥ |
Ete bhāṇān babhaṇuḥ, kā śaktiḥ Kālidāsasya ||

"Vararuci, Īśvaradatta, Śyāmilaka and Śūdraka—these four composed bhāṇas: what is the ability of Kālidāsa?"

Of these, two are famous names: Śūdraka, the author of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, who is generally regarded as a predecessor of Kālidāsa, and Vararuci, a figure somewhat obscured by legend, through which it is possible to discern a significant figure in the early history of Sanskrit Kāvya. The editors regard these ascriptions as genuine, and in the absence of any evidence to the contrary there is no reason for doubting them. The other two authors, Īśvaradatta and Śyāmilaka were not previously known. Speaking of them the editors express their inability to decide on the date of Īśvaradatta, while they estimate that Śyāmilaka probably lived about A.D. 800–900. In this latter case they produce no real evidence for this dating, beyond showing that the author must have lived earlier than A.D. 1000, since verses from the play are quoted in works of that period. But no evidence is produced to show how much earlier than

this lower limit the author lived and the date A.D. 800–900 is purely a guess.

These four plays were discussed shortly after their publication by Professor F. W. Thomas in the *Centenary Supplement* of the *JRAS.*, 1924, pp. 123–136, and the *Pādatāḍitaka* in particular in *JRAS.*, 1924, pp. 262–5. He drew attention to the marked literary ability displayed by the authors of the plays, and to the excellence of the style, praising in particular prose of the dramas as " the veritable ambrosia of Sanskrit speech ", a judgment which anyone who peruses the works can confirm for himself. Speaking of the attribution of the first play to Śūdraka he observes that while there is nothing that would prove that it is by the same author as the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, there is likewise nothing to suggest that the contrary is the case. Of the four plays the last one, Śyāmilaka's *Pādatāḍitaka* particularly aroused the interest of Professor Thomas on account of its wealth of detail in references to contemporary peoples, places, and individuals, and he devoted a special article to this play, in which these references are reviewed. Basing his judgment on this evidence and on similarities to the works of Bāṇa which can be observed, he concludes that the work must have been written about " the time of Harṣa of Kanauj or even that of the later Guptas ". In view of the wealth of detail provided by the play the question of its date is deserving of further investigation, and the facts set out below appear to be sufficient to determine this date within comparatively narrow limits, and to show that it is considerably earlier than the time of Harṣa and Bāṇa.

It is not necessary here to describe and summarize the play under discussion. This has been excellently done by Professor Thomas for all four plays in the articles already referred to. It will be sufficient to recall the main characteristics of *Bhāṇa*. This type of play has only one actor, who appears as a rake (*viṭa*). He is represented as setting out on some mission of dubious respectability in the course of which he walks through the town and meets and holds conversations with a variety of characters. As he is the only character on the stage this is done by his pretending to see and hear other people, of whom he asks " what do you say " (*kiṃ bravīṣi*), and then himself quoting their words. The name of the city in which the action takes place and a description of its beauties as the " hero " walks through it is a regular feature of the composition.

The scene of the *Padmaprābhṛtaka* is laid in Ujjayinī, that of the

Dhūrtaviṭasaṃvāda and *Ubhayabhisārikā* in Pāṭaliputra (Kusumapura). The author of the *Pādatāḍitaka* is less explicit and refers to the town as "the city of the Universal Emperor".[1] Universal monarchs are not very common in Indian History and the question naturally arises as to whether sufficient evidence can be gathered from the play to show who this Sārvabhauma king was and which was the city mentioned as his capital. This is possible because not only are the topical allusions in the play very numerous, but they are also reasonably precise and detailed.

To begin with the more general references a useful indication of the period is provided by the fact that both Śakas and Hūṇas appear at the same time. This is significant because the part played by these two foreign peoples in the history of India barely overlaps. After a career of some four or five centuries in Northern and Western India the Śakas practically disappear from the scene after the conquest of Mālava, Surāṣṭra, and the western provinces by Candragupta II Vikramāditya, which brought to an end the Śaka dynasty of Ujjain founded by Caṣṭana. The date of this conquest has not been exactly determined, but it may be placed with reasonable certainty in the last decade of the fourth century.[2] On the other hand the Huns do not begin to play a part until the fifth century when a ferocious onslaught by them was repelled by Skandagupta about the middle of the century. An author to whom both peoples were familiar might therefore be reasonably supposed to have lived in the early part of the fifth century. In this case such a date is confirmed by the fact that the play contains an unambiguous reference to the conquest, mentioned above, of the Śakas of Ujjain by Chandragupta II.

One of the characters encountered by the rake is a certain Bhadrāyudha who is introduced as a *Mahāpratīhāra* and Lord of the Bāhlīkas and Kārūśa-Maladas in the north. He appears surrounded by a group of disreputable persons called *ḍiṇḍin-* or *ḍiṇḍika-* by the author and imitates the speech of the Lāṭas who pronounce *j* for *y* and *ś* for *s*. Such habits he has acquired through long residing in foreign countries, a practise of which the author does not seem to approve, except in the case of Bhadrāyudha

[1] P. 8. *Aho nu khalu Jambudvīpatilakabhūtasya ... sārvabhaumanarendrādhiṣṭhitasya sārvabhaumanagarasya parā śrīḥ*; on p. 10 *Sārvabhauma* is used by itself as the name of the city.

[2] Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*[4], p. 307.

(*athavâsyaîkasya deśāntaravihāro yuktaḥ*). His case is said to be exceptional on account of his military exploits and fame which are described as follows :—

YenÂparantaŚakaMālavabhūpatīnāṃ
kṛtvā śirassu caraṇau caratā yathêṣṭam |
kāle 'bhyupetya jananīṃ jananīṃ ca Gaṅgām
āviṣkṛtā Magadharājakulasya Lakṣmīḥ ||

"Proceeding according to his pleasure he placed his feet on the heads of the Aparānta, Śaka, and Mālava kings, and coming back at last to his mother and to mother Ganges, he made manifest the glory of the royal house of Magadha."

Velānilair mṛdubhir ākulitālakāntāḥ
gāyanti yasya caritāny Aparāntakāntāḥ |
utkaṇṭhitāḥ samavalambya latās tarūṇāṃ
hintālamāliṣu taṭeṣu mahārṇavasya ||

"Their locks disturbed by the soft breezes of the sea-shore, the maidens of Aparānta sing of his deeds, full of longing, taking hold of the creepers on the trees, on the shores of the ocean which are garlanded by rows of date-palms."

The historical allusions here could hardly be clearer. Since Bhadrāyudha is described as a subordinate ruler of the North-West, and as having previously conquered Mālava, Aparānta, and the Śaka kingdom for the kings of Magadha, it is quite clear that the Sārvabhauma monarch referred to in the play is a Magadhan king, and it is also clear from the extent of his dominions that the title Sārvabhauma is not one idly given. This being the case he cannot be other than a member of the Imperial Gupta family of Magadha, nor is any further argument necessary to demonstrate that the conquest of the Aparānta, Śaka, and Mālava kings mentioned in the first of the verses quoted, must be the campaign of Candragupta II which put an end to Śaka rule in Ujjain, and brought to the Gupta Empire its greatest expansion and power. The play therefore is to be dated early in the fifth century, either towards the end of the reign of Candragupta II, or possibly early in the reign of his successor Kumāragupta.[1]

[1] Worthy of attention are similarities in idea and expression between the first verse quoted above and a verse from the Bhitari Inscription of Skandagupta. These cannot be altogether accidental :—

Pitari divam upete viplutām *vaṃśalakṣmīṃ*
bhujabalavijitārir yaḥ pratiṣṭhāpya bhūyaḥ |
jitam iti paritoṣān *mātaraṃ* sāsranetrāṃ
hataripur iva Kṛṣṇo Devakīm *abhyupetaḥ* ||

In addition to the above reference to the Śakas, the play mentions a Śaka prince of Surāṣṭra called variously Jayantaka (p. 39) and Jayanandaka (p. 7). It would seem that Candragupta did not destroy root and branch the reigning Śaka families, but that under his suzerainty some of them at any rate continued to live in security, and not completely deprived of their ancient privileges. In this connection it is worth while recalling that Charpentier saw in *Parṇadatta*, name of a governor of Surāṣṭra under Skandagupta, an Indian rendering of an Iranian name.[1] Another character, Bhaṭṭi Maghavarmā, son of the Senāpati Senaka, is referred to in such a way as to suggest that he had lost a throne as a result of Candragupta's western conquests. When the rake calls on him, he thanks him for restoring to him the privileges of a kingship long since destroyed by appearing in audience before him (p. 15: *Vayasya kim adyâpy apūrvapratīhāropasthānena cirotsanno rājabhāvo 'smāsv ādhīyate*). The use of the term *cirotsanna-* would suggest that quite a number of years had passed since the completion of the conquest. A prince Makhavarmā from Ānandapura is mentioned earlier (p. 7), and it is possible that one of these names is a variant reading of the other. Since Ānandapura (Vadnagar) must have formed part of theconfederacy facing Candragupta in this war, it is a place where one might reasonably expect to come across a dethroned king at this time.

The Huns are only mentioned once in the play, but in such a way as to show that the author was perfectly well acquainted with them and their appearance. A certain Ārya-Ghoṭaka is introduced (p. 15), who though no Hun appears dressed as one (*ahūṇo hūṇamaṇḍanamaṇḍitaḥ*). This shows familiarity with real Huns, and as the extent of the empire as gathered from the play precludes the occupation of any part of India by them, the author must be alluding to Huns settled on the borders of India at a period prior to any serious inroads of theirs against the Gupta empire. That was the state of affairs prevailing early in the fifth century, the time when, from the evidence already adduced, the play must have been written.

It remains to decide what the city was which, like its ruler, was called Sārvabhauma. It is clear that it must have been in the West of India because most of the topical allusions refer to that part of the country. Avanti, Mālava, Aparānta, Surāṣṭra, Lāṭa, etc.,

[1] *JRAS.*, 1928, pp. 904–5.

are frequently referred to. The following verse, also, is instructive in this respect:—

Śakayavanatuṣārapārasīkair
Magadhakirātakaliṅgavaṅgakāśaiḥ |
nagaram atimudāyutaṃ samantān
Mahiṣakacolakapāṇḍyakeralaiś ca ||

"The city is joyfully thronged on all sides by Śakas, Greeks, Tocharians and Persians, by Magadhas, Kirātas, Kaliṅgas, Vaṅgas and Kāśas, and by Mahiṣakas, Colas, Pāṇḍyas, and Keralas." Here the peoples of Eastern India and the peoples of Southern India are classed as dwellers in distant lands, just as are the non-Indian peoples of the West. A city in Western India which is represented by the author as the seat of an emperor, and clearly as one of the greatest cities of India, can hardly be other than Ujjayinī, for centuries the most famous city of this region. This conclusion hardly needs much argument, but we may add that a large number of the cities of this region—Daśapura, Ānandapura, Śūrpāraka, Padmapura, Vidiśā—are mentioned in such a way as to make it clear that they are towns different from that which is the scene of action. The fact that Ujjayinī is called Sārvabhauma is of significance, since in later tradition Vikramāditya is always connected with Ujjayinī, and this has led historians to believe that Candragupta II transferred his capital here or adopted it as a second capital after the conquest of the Western Satraps. We can see in the name Sārvabhauma an allusion to this event, and, indeed, the title may not be simply descriptive, but rather a new name conferred by Candragupta on the city of his adoption.

The fact that the play can be shown to refer to real events and conditions renders it probable that some at any rate of the characters that appear in it are not mere figments of the poet's imagination, but actual historical personages. This seems to be the case with Bhadrāyudha, whose exploits are circumstantially referred to, and correspond to known historical events. The fact also that he is mentioned as ruler of the Bāhlīkas is in accordance with the known fact that their country was conquered by Candragupta who crossed the seven mouths of the Indus in the course of his campaign.[1] Others, too, of the characters have the appearance of being real persons rather than invented characters: for instance Bhaṭṭi

[1] *Mehrauli Pillar Inscr. CII*, iii, 141. Tīrtvā sapta mukhāni yena samare Sindhor jitā Vāhlikāḥ.

Maghavarman and the Ābhīra prince Mayūradatta.[1] The fact that such names do not appear in inscriptions is naturally no argument against their authenticity, since the number of inscriptions dating from this period is only very small. There is, however, fortunately, one character who appears in the drama who is known from other evidence to have lived at this time. He is a king of Koṅkaṇa who is called Indrasvāmī (p. 18) or Indradatta (p. 19). He is described as follows :—

Kāvye gāndharve nṛttaśāstre vidhijñam
dakṣam dātāram dakṣiṇam dākṣiṇātyam |
veśyā kā nêcchet svāminaṃ Koṅkaṇānām
syāc ced asya strīṣv ārjavāt sannipātaḥ ||

api ca :

Sañcārayan kalabhakaṃ gajanartakaṃ vā
veśyāṅgaṇeṣu Bhagadatta iv Êndradattaḥ [2] |
udvīkṣyate stananiviṣṭakarāmbujābhir
vyāghro mṛgībhir iva vāravilāsinībhiḥ ||

"What hetaera would not desire the lord of the Koṅkaṇas, who knows the rules of poetry, music, and dancing, who is clever, liberal, courteous, and a southerner, if only he would behave properly towards women.

"Driving an elephant cub or a dancing elephant in the courtyards of the hetaerae, Indradatta, like (another) Bhagadatta, is looked up at by them, with their lotus-hands placed on their bosoms, as a tiger is looked on by female deer."

A king Indradatta, of the Traikūṭaka dynasty, is known from the coins of his son to have been reigning in Western India in the early part of the fifth century. The legend runs : *Mahārājendradattaputra-parama-vaiṣnava-Srī-Mahārāja-Dahrasena.*[3] An inscription of Dahrasena is dated in the year 207 = A.D. 456, and one of his son Vyāghrasena in the year 231 = A.D. 480.[4] Only these three kings of the dynasty are known. From the evidence of the coins and inscriptions they appear to have ruled in Southern Gujarat and the Konkan.

There is therefore complete agreement between the evidence supplied by the drama and that supplied by the coins and inscriptions. The drama which, as we have already seen from its reference

[1] For a list of characters see Professor Thomas, *JRAS.*, 1924, p. 262.
[2] The text reads °*dattam.*
[3] Rapson, *Coins of the Andhara Dynasty, etc.*, p. 198.
[4] Ibid., pp. clviii ff.

to the conquest of the Śakas by a Magadhan emperor, must be dated early in the fifth century, introduces a contemporary king of Konkaṇ called Indradatta. From inscriptions and coins we know that in fact a King Indradatta was ruling in this region at just this time. Thus the dating of the play suggested by the previous evidence gets additional confirmation from this. Indradatta's exact dates are not known : all we know is that his son was reigning in A.D. 456. The drama's allusions to his somewhat boisterous behaviour suggest that he was a young man at the time of its production. To date the play therefore *c.* A.D. 410–415 fits in well with the fact that his son was reigning in the middle of the century. Such dating also seems to be imposed by the other evidence. On the one hand Bhadrāyudha is mentioned as having taken a leading part in the Śaka campaign, which means that the date can hardly at the outside be brought down more than twenty years after that date. If that event is to be dated with the majority of historians *c.* A.D. 395, this means that *c.* A.D. 415 is the lower limit for the dating of the play. On the other hand it appears from the reference to Maghavarma having been dethroned a long time that the play cannot be dated too near that event. Taking all into consideration therefore we may say that a date *c.* 410 may, allowing for a small margin of uncertainty, be assigned to this drama.

The identification of Indradatta is valuable, not only as confirming the date of the play, but also as showing that the characters in the play are by no means all mere inventions. Many other of the characters, particularly the ruling princes mentioned, may also have been real persons, though the dearth of evidence about the period in inscriptional and other sources makes it impossible to verify this in most cases. It is of course always possible that further identifications may prove possible if new inscriptions and coins are discovered. As it is the conclusions which it is possible to draw from a study of the play, and which are briefly sketched above, are valuable in more respects than one. In the first place it is important for the history of Sanskrit Drama to have a work belonging to the early period which it is possible to date so accurately. In the second place, when there are so few authentic documents dealing with Gupta history, the historical allusions in this play assume importance as an additional source for that period, while outside the field of purely political history, the work is of no less importance for the study of the manners and conditions of the time.

Japanese-Korean wars in A.D. 391–407 and their chronology

By B. SZCZEŚNIAK

(PLATES V–VIII)

JAPAN'S gradual interest in Korea and the expansion on this peninsula goes back to the third century A.D. The establishment of the Japanese sphere of influence in Korea, and the domination of Mimana 任那 in Southern Korea, were dictated by economic, cultural, and military reasons of Ancient Japan, or the Yamato [1] country. This in the middle of the fourth century A.D. became the strongest and most powerful of many clan (uji) 氏 rivals in the central Sovereign, Tennō 天皇, in the Japanese archipelago.

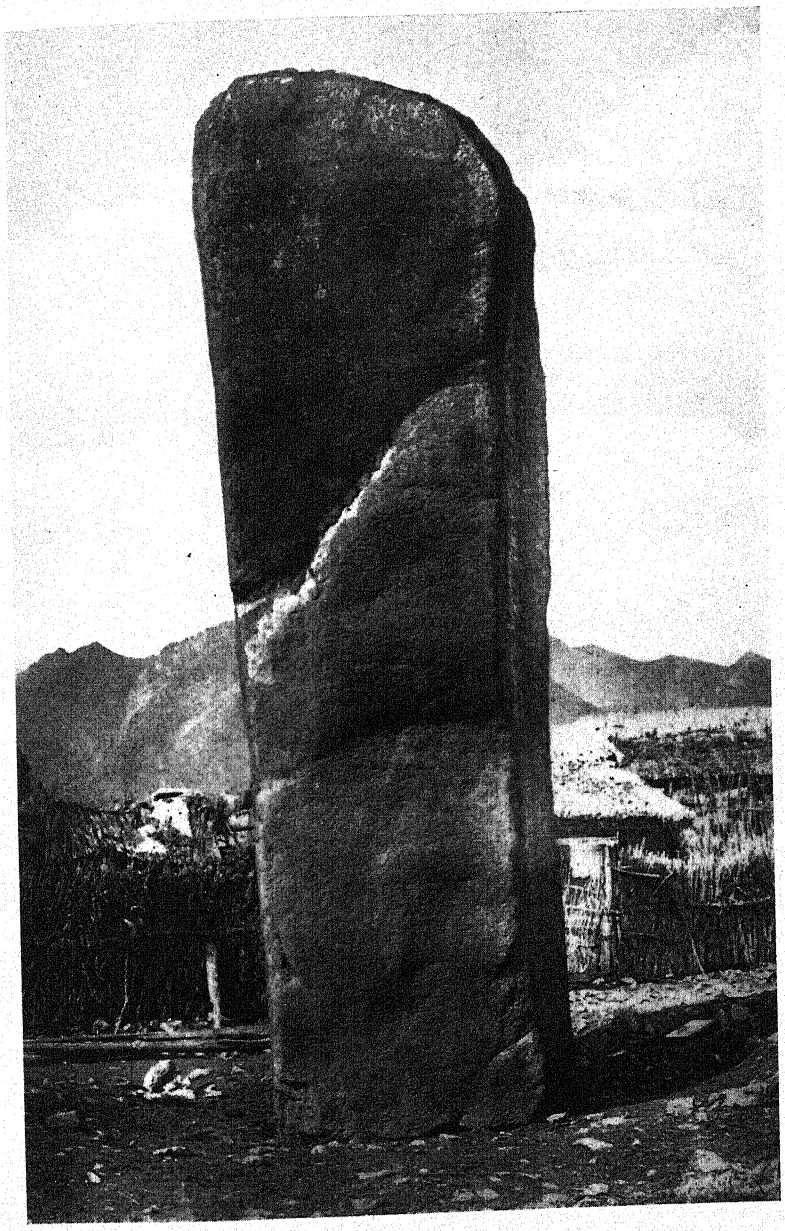
Economy and culture, and also the complicated diplomatic and political relations between the Yamato country and the peninsular states were the main causes of the Korean invasions. The military reasons were only enhancement of the prestige of the Yamato Sovereign by fighting dependent clans, and the weak and small Southern Korean states.

Ancient Japan in her first historical period of national development was not interested in imperialistic wars connected with occupation or annexation. Her interests were limited to receiving the "tribute" of goods not produced in Yamato from a more highly civilized country. It was rather a primitive stage of economic exchange than a "tribute paying" by a dependant or subjugated country, as it is called by the compiler of *Nihonshoki* 日本書紀. Therefore the invasions of Korea had mainly the character of a primitive economic mission to the neighbouring country.

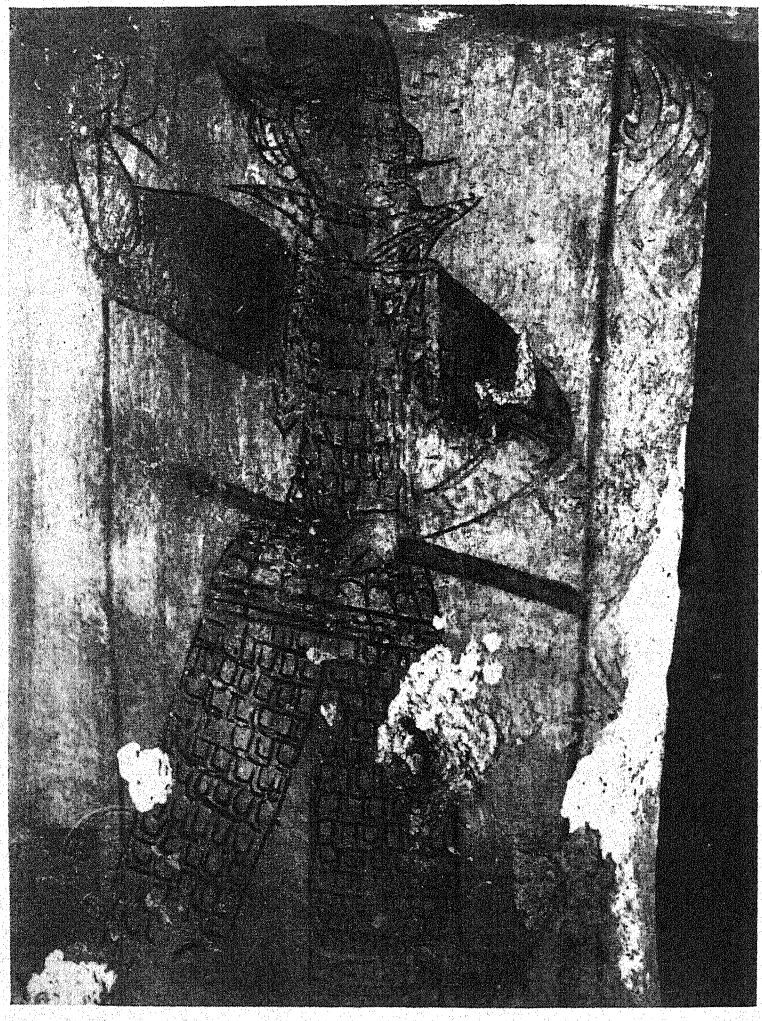
As for cultural reasons one is inclined to agree with the opinion of R. K. Reischauer [2] that the Japanese Government Headquarters in Mimana were more busily engaged in sending scholars, calendars, books, and artisans to Japan, than in governing the small southern states of Korea. The importation of Chinese culture had the same

[1] The name of Ancient Japan, Yamato, was written: 大倭; in A.D. 735 characters were changed to 大和; Chinese name: Wêi-kuo 倭國.

[2] *Early Japanese History*, Part A, pp. 18–19.



THE MONUMENT OF KING KUANG-K'AI-T'U.
(The Kōtaiō monument 好太王碑)



THE FOURTH CENTURY A.D. WARRIOR OF KŌKULI.
The mural painting in the Tomb of Three Chambers 三室塚, Korea.

value as the imported goods. When the stream of the economic and cultural goods grew weaker, Yamato sent a new expedition to prolong the sources of national construction which was undergoing a transitive change from a clan to the state organization. These reasons also compelled Early Japan to regulate political difficulties among the Korean states and to keep balance in the domain of her influence on this Peninsula for the sake of the profits accruing to her from her self-imposed mission. It seems also that the prevailing belief in the relationship between the Japanese and Koreans led Yamato to be interested in the social development of the Korean peoples.

The internal situation of Japan in the fourth century did not keep pace with her political ambitions in Korea. The Yamato territories in the central part of Honshu island did not exceed more than a few hundred square kilometres. In the north-eastern part of this island the Ainu people being not yet subdued, fought strongly against the Yamato Kingdom. The island of Kyushu, where the Kumaso 熊襲 tribe collaborated with the southern Korean states, was also a great menace to the existence of Yamato country. But fortunately for Japan in that time Korea was divided into many small states fighting against each other, thus exposed to the danger of an invasion by the northern barbarians of the continent. Japan, taking advantage of that situation, invaded the southern part of Korea nearest to her archipelago, in order to strengthen her own economic and cultural existence. Strangely enough Japan first began her continental and external expansion, and only later effected her internal unification and structural organization.

The facts about this period noted by the *Nihonshoki* chronicle are abundant but incomplete, especially where chronology is concerned. Some facts and dates are not mentioned, while others are confused and attributed to various Sovereigns who ruled in the middle of the fourth century A.D. and in the beginning of the fifth century A.D., such as Jingō-Kōgō 神功皇后, Ōjin-Tennō 應神天皇, and Nintoku-Tennō 仁德天皇. Fortunately the monument [1] of Great King Kuang-K'ai-T'u, discovered sixty years ago (1882) in T'ung-Kou, Southern Manchuria, throws a light on this period and helps to a proper understanding, not only of the Japanese tendency to continental expansion, but also of the conditions in Korea and of relations existing between various states.

[1] See Bibliography; the King is called Kōtaiō.

Korea, in the fourth century A.D. like Japan in the same century, underwent an intensive movement for unification. The biggest and most powerful of its small states was Kókuli, which extended gradually from the regions of South Manchuria and extended down the peninsular states.

Kudara (Pekche) came into conflict with her neighbour, Kōkuli (Koguryu, Korai, or Koma), but she was attacked at the same time by Kara, which seized this opportunity to extend her regions. It is presumed that Shiragi (Silla) was in alliance with Kudara, and came to its help by attacking Kara (Kaya) on her western borders. Presumably Kara, being in difficulties, had asked Yamato for help. *Nihonshoki*,[1] however, gives a different reason for Yamato's military expedition against Kudara. "This year (A.D. 391, 3rd of Ōjin-Tennō reign) King Shinsa of Pekche was disrespectful to the Celestial Court." Four generals with strong military forces were dispatched to fight Shiragi and Kudara in aid of Kara. The situation being thus complicated by the war in the peninsula created for Yamato the easiest way of strengthening her influence in Korea by helping Kara. Yamato extended her possession in Mimana by establishing there her own governors with military support.

The Japanese victory and her dominant influence in Korea became dangerous to the Kokuli country. King Kōtai, invading Kara in A.D. 395 and Kudara in 396, captured their capitals and eighteen strongholds. He then went south and pressed Kudara's King Akao, who asked for peace and received it after having given one thousand men and women, and one thousand rolls of fine cloth. The peace terms stipulated that Kudara should be an allied subject of Kokuli and should give as a hostage Kao's brothers and ten ministers. After this victory the Kokuli King returned in triumph. But two years later "Kudara broke her oath and communicated amicably with Wêi (Japan)", and attacked Shiragi. Japan sent strong expeditionary forces to Korea in A.D. 399, under the command of General Katsuraki no Sotsuhiko, to annihilate Shiragi and to promote again her connections with Kara and Kudara.

At that time (A.D. 400) the King of Shiragi, Nakatsu, sent a messenger to Kōtai, the King of Kōkuli, who was in the locality of present Heijō. "The messenger addressed the King, saying: 'The Wêi (Japan) people filled the frontier, destroyed the castles

[1] *ETN.*, vol. v, p. 256. Dates according to the corrected chronology; see Chronological Table.

and moats, and made your allied subjects theirs.' The brave and great Kōkuli King commanded fifty thousand foot and horse to go and rescue Shiragi. From the castle of Dan-Kyo they went to the (capital) Shiragi castle, which the Wêi (Japan) troops filled." The inscription of the Kōtaiō emphasizes that " when the (Kōkuli) troops were just to arrive there, the Wêi rebels (*sic*!) retreated. Wêi filled and Wêi collapsed ".

The *Nihonshoki* chronicle quotes in A.D. 402 that " Katsuraki no Sotsuhiko was sent (from Japan) to bring the men of Yutsuki from Kara. Now three years passed, and Sotsuhiko did not come ".[1] General Sotsuhiko was sent to help Kara and fought Shiragi, but he was in great distress and difficulty, being pressed by an enormous army of Kōkuli. His fate is not known exactly because the *Nihonshoki* makes no further mention of him. The part of the monument inscription which mentions the battle with the Wêi troops of Shiragi castle, has eighteen ideographs defaced and illegible. The last words of the sentence 65th " . . . nine exhausted and their subjects surrendered " gives us no proper answer. It may be connected with Sotsuhiko's fate (?) or a serious worry of the Yamato authorities, about whom the chronicle laconically says: " three years passed and Sotsuhiko did not come (back). . . ."

Professor Nishimura Shinji of Waseda University admits in his *Yamato*[2] that when the Japanese troops filled the Shiragi castle of present Keishu, they were defeated by the Kōkuli army and retreated south along the mountains Uru-Zan to the Mimana and Kara in the extreme south of Korean Peninsula. And again, according to the Kōtaiō inscription in A.D. 404, " Wêi was agian rebellious and invaded the boundaries of Tai-Ho destroying (many) castles. . . . The Wêi troops attacked from the sea-side by leading a fleet of ships . . . near Heijō. The Wêi invaders were routed and countless numbers of them were slaughtered."

That Japan was preparing for a sea-battle can be proved from the *Nihonshoki* where it is mentioned that " the province of Izu was charged with the duty of constructing ships ".[3] This chronicle, however, makes no mention of the defeat of the Yamato troops by Kōkuli. *Nihonshoki*, in the year 404, only informs us that Ōjin-Tennō ordered the dispatch of picked troops with Generals

[1] *ETN.*, vol. i, p. 261. It means that Sotsuhiko was sent with military expedition to Shiragi, A.D. 399.

[2] *Vide* Nishimura's *Yamato*, pp. 433–4.

[3] *ETN.*, vol. i, p. 256.

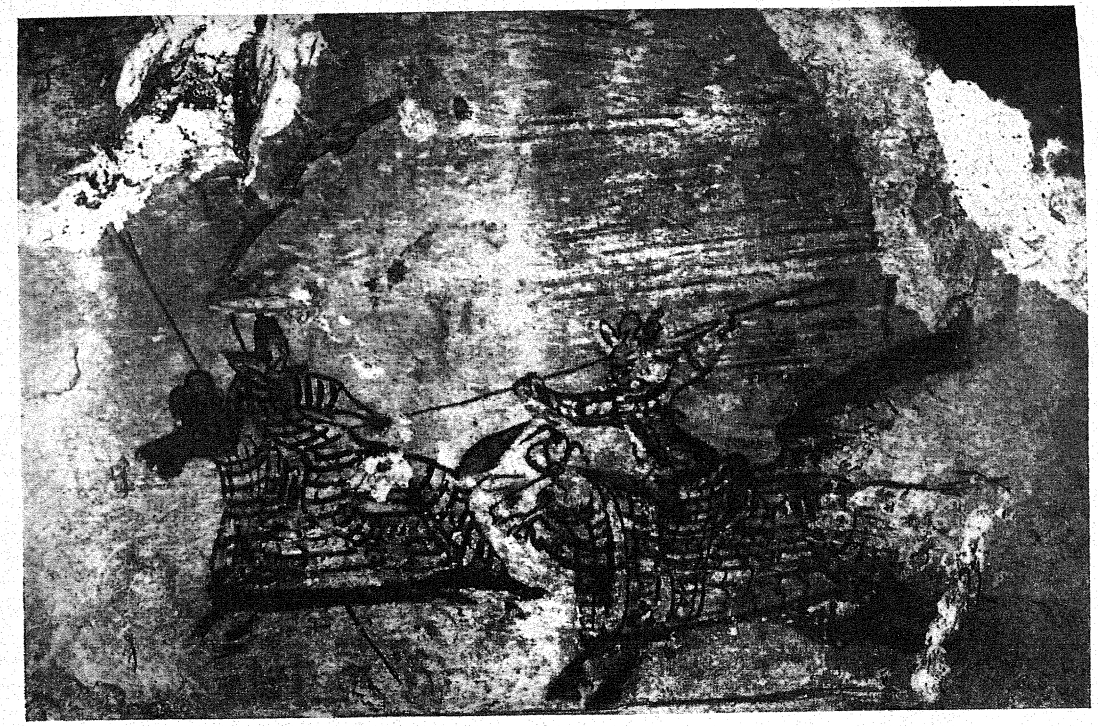
Kizu no Sukune, of Heguri, and Tada no Sukune, of Ikuba: "The long delay[1] in Sotsuhiko's return must be owing to his being detained by the opposition of the men of Silla (Shiragi). Do you go speedily, assail Silla, and open a way for him."[2]

The coincidence of the statements of *Nihonshoki* and of the Monument inscription is striking, though we can hardly be sure that the new Yamato's expedition in A.D. 404 ended with defeat just in this year, as stated in the Inscription. The Inscription then says that in A.D. 407 "fifty thousand foot and horse were dispatched and ordered to . . . Fighting killed and annihilated enemy". If this sentence is connected with the Japanese expedition to Korea in A.D. 407, then the Kōkuli victory of 404 described on the monument was on a small scale and of no more importance than a local battle. The date of A.D. 407 is correct and it should be related to the Kōkuli victory over the Yamato troops. Unfortunately the Inscription here has a few ideographs defaced so that the complete defeat sustained by Japan is not clear.

In A.D. 413 *Nihonshoki* notes: "King Tyou-chi of Kudara died. Accordingly his son Kun-in-shin became King. The King was a child. So Mong-man-chi, of Yamato (?), took the administration of the state. He had an intrigue with the King's mother, and his conduct was in many ways improper.[3] When King Cho Yu succeeded to the throne after the death of his father Great King Kuang-K'ai-Ko-Tai (Kotaiwo) the relations with Kokuli were not satisfactory for Japan. He sent a messenger to Yamato announcing his enthronement in an offensive address. *Nihonshoki* notes it: 'The King of Koryo' sent an envoy to the Court with tribute. He presented an address in which it was said: '"The King of Koryo" instructs the Land of Nippon.' Now the Heir Apparent, Uji-no-waka-iratsuko, read this and was enraged. He reproached the Koryo envoy with the rudeness of the address and tore it up."[4]

After A.D. 407 Japan's influence in Korean peninsula was declining, and her relations with Kōkuli and Kudara were maintained only with difficulty. The new spiritual life came to Yamato with the arrival of scholar Wani from Korea, A.D. 404, in the very year of Japan's great military activities in the peninsula, which were too exhaustive to be victorious. For contemporary historians the seventeen years of Japanese fighting (A.D. 391–407) in Korea

[1] I.e. five years.
[2] *ETN.*, vol. i, p. 267.
[3] *ETN.*, vol. i, p. 267.
[4] *ETN.*, vol. i, p. 268.



The Fourth century A.D. Equestrian Warrior of Kōkuli, fighting the enemy (left).
The mural painting in the Tomb of Three Chambers 三室塚, Korea.

The King of Kōkuli.
The mural painting in the Tomb of the Dancing Figures 舞踊塚, Korea.

provide an excellent document of Japan's early ambition to expand beyond the Archipelago to the Continent.

The Chronology of Kōtaiō Inscription and of Nihonshoki Chronicle

Comparing the historical events of Kōtaiō Inscription and *Nihonshoki* chronicle, we find that the dates of battles between Kōkuli and other Korean states and their enemy Japan differ by 120 years.[1] This discrepancy may be considered from many points.[2] But the incorrectness of the *Nihonshoki* is hardly disputed. We shall compare the *Nihonshoki* records with the Kotaiwō Inscription to show the mistake of *Nihonshoki* and to ascertain that the long war between Korea and Japan took place in the reign of Ōjin-Tennō in 391–407.

The two comparative chronological tables in hexagenary cycle will help the reader to follow the author's way of deduction.

Nihonshoki (A.D. 271, year of Junior Metal Hare) [3]

A.D. 391. "3rd year. This year King Sinsa of Pekche (Kudara) was disrespectful to the celestial Court (i.e. of Japan). Therefore Ki-no-Tsuno-Sukune, Hata no Yashiro no Sukune, Ishikaha no Sukune, and Tsuku no Sukune were sent to call him to an account for his rudeness. Hereupon the people of Pekche slew Sinsa by way of apology. Ki no Tsuno no Sukune and the others accordingly established Ahwa as King and returned to Japan."

Kōtaiō Inscription

A.D. 391. "And in the year of Junior-Metal-Hare, Wêi came crossing the sea and defeated Kudara, and Shiragi, and made them her subjects."

Nihonshoki (A.D. 276, year of Senior Fire Monkey)

A.D. 395. "7th year, Autumn, 9th Month. Men of Koryo (Kōkuli), men of Pekche (Kudara), men of Imna (Mimana), and men of Silla (Shiragi) all together attended the Court. Orders were then given to Takechi no Sukune to take these various men of Han (Korea) and make them dig a pond. Therefore the pond was given a name, and was called the pond of the men of Han."

[1] Confer also *Kume K. Nippon-Kodai-shi,* vol. ii, chapter 62nd.

[2] *Vide* historical researches of Kume, Yoshida, and Naka concerning the early Japanese-Korean relation. For the English readers it will be very interesting to see *Japan's Continental Expansion,* by Professor Kuno I., vol. i, pp. 199–214.

[3] Dates in parenthesis according to the official Japanese chronology.

Kōtaiō Inscription

A.D. 395. "That inscriptions reads: □ □ in the fifth year of Ei-Raku, that is the year of Junior-Wood-Sheep, the King, instead of taking a rest with □ led (the troops) in person and attacked Mount Ha-Mu (Kara)."

Kōtaiō Inscription

A.D. 396. "In the sixth year of Senior-Fire-Monkey, the King in person led marine forces and attacked the country of Ri-Zan (Kudara)."

Nihonshoki (A.D. 276, year of Senior Fire Monkey)

A.D. 396. "8th year, Spring, 3rd month. Men of Pekche attended Court. The Pekche record says: 'King Ahwa came to the throne and was disrespectful to the honourable country. Therefore we were despoiled of Chhim-mi-ta-ryo, Hyonnam, Chi-chhim, Kong-na, and Eastern Han. Herewith Prince Chik-chi was sent to the Celestial Court in order to restore the friendship of former kings.'"

Kōtaiō Inscription

A.D. 396. "[King of Kudara] made an oath saying: 'Henceforth for a long time I will serve you as an allied subject.'"

A.D. 398. "In the eighth year of Senior Earth Dog some troops were sent to explore Haku-Shin and To-Koku."

Nihonshoki (A.D. 279, year of Junior Earth Boar)

A.D. 399. "Japan sent strong expeditionary forces to Korea under the command of General Katsuraki no Sotsuhiko, and Kudara offered allegiance to Japan."

Kōtaiō Inscription

A.D. 399. "In the ninth year of Junior Earth Boar Kudara broke his oath and amicably communicated with Wai."

Kōtaiō Inscription

A.D. 399–400. "The King (Kōtaiō) went down to Heijō, when Shiragi sending a messenger addressed the King, saying: 'The Wêi people filled the frontiers, destroyed the castles and moats, and made your allied subjects theirs.'"

Kōtaiō Inscription

A.D. 400. "In the tenth year of Senior Metal Rat the King commanded fifty thousand foot and horse to go and rescue Shiragi. From the castle of Dan-Kyo they went to Shiragi castle, which

Wêi people filled—when the troops (of Kōtaiō) were just about to arrive there, the Wêi rebels retreated. . . . Wêi filled and Wêi collapsed, the castles greatly. . . ."

Nihonshoki (A.D. 282, year of Senior Water Tiger)

A.D. 402. "14th year, Spring, 2nd month. The King of Pekche sent as tribute a seamstress named Maketsu. She was the first ancestress of the present seamstress of Kume. This year the Lord of Yutsuki (in Korea) came from Pekche and offered his allegiance. Accordingly he addressed the Emperor, saying: 'Thy servant was coming to offer allegiance with one hundred and twenty districts of the people of his own land, when the men of Silla prevented them, and they were all forced to remain in the land of Kara.' Hereupon Katsu-raki no Sotsuhiko was sent to bring the men of Yutsuki from Kara. Now three years passed, and Sotsuhiko did not come."

Nihonshoki (A.D. 283, year of Junior Water Hare)

A.D. 403. "15th year, Autumn, 8th month, 6th day. The King of Pekche sent A-Chik-Ki with two quiet horses as tribute. . . . Moreover, A-Chik-Ki was able to read the classics, and so the Heir Apparent, Uji no Waka Iratsuko, made him his teacher. Hereupon the Emperor inquired of A-Chik-Ki, saying: 'Are there other learned men superior to thee?' He answered and said: 'There is Wang-in (Wani), who is superior.' Then Areda Wake, ancestor of the Kimi of Kozuke, and Kamu-nagi-wake were sent to Pekche to summon Wang-in."

Nihonshoki (A.D. 284, year of Senior Wood Dragon)

A.D. 404. "16th year, Spring, 2nd month. Wang-in arrived, and straightway the Heir Apparent, Uji no Waka Iratsuko, took him as teacher, and learnt various books from him. . . . In this year King Ahwa of Pekche died. The Emperor then sent for Prince Tyon-chi, and addressed him saying: 'Do thou return and succeed to the royal Dignity.' Accordingly he further granted to him the territory of Eastern Han and so dismissed him (he was as a hostage of Kara). . . .

"8th month. Kizu no Sukune of Heguri and Tada no Sukune of Ikuba were sent to Kara. Choice troops were granted them, and the Emperor commanded them saying: 'The long delay in Sotsuhiko's return must be owing to his being detained by the opposition of the men of Silla (Shiragi). Do you go speedily, assail

Silla, and open a way for him.' Hereupon Kizu no Sukune and his colleague moved forward their choice troops and arrived at the Silla frontier. The King of Silla was afraid, and confessed his guilt, so they brought away with them the people of Kungwol (or Yutsuki) and Sotsuhiko."

Kōtaiō Inscription

A.D. 404. "In the fourteenth year of Senior Wood Dragon, the Wai were again rebellious and invaded the boundaries of Tai-Ho destroying the castles of . . . and of Seki. The Wai troops attacked from the sea-side by leading a fleet of ships . . . near Heijō. . . . The Wai invaders were routed and countless numbers of them were slaughtered."

Kōtaiō Inscription

A.D. 407. "In the seventeenth year of Junior Fire Sheep, fifty thousand foot and horse were dispatched and ordered to. . . . Fighting killed and annihilated enemy."

Nihonshoki (A.D. 293, year of Junior Water Bull)

A.D. 413. "25th. King Tyou-chi of Pekche (Kudara) died. Accordingly his son Kun-in-sin became King. The King was a child. Therefore Mong-man-chi of Yamato took the administration of the state. He had an intrigue with the King's mother, and his conduct was in many ways improper. The Emperor hearing this, sent for him."

Nihonshoki (A.D. 296, year of Senior Fire Dragon)

A.D. 416. "28th year, Autumn, 9th month. The King of Koryo sent an envoy to the Court with tribute. He presented an address, in which it was said: 'The King of Koryo instructs the Land of Nippon.' Now the Heir Apparent, Uji no Waka Iratsuko, read this address and was enraged. He reproached the Koryo envoy with the rudeness of the address and tore it up."

A COMPARATIVE TABLE

of the deaths of the Japanese Emperors during the chronological period of Kotaiwō monument, according to the *Nihonshoki*, with corrections, made by Professors Yoshida [1] and Kume.[2]

[1] Cf. for details Wedemeyer's *Japanische Frühgeschichte*, pp. 16–24; Yoshida Togo, *Nikkan-koshi-dan*, pp. 328–440, Tokyo, 1893 (吉田東伍。日韓古史談。).

[2] Kume, *Dai-nippon-kodai-shi*, 大日本古代史, pp. 18–25, Tokyo, 1915, 2 vols.; in the Waseda University series 大日本時代史 (12 vols).

Name of the Emperor	Cycle Year	Yoshida	Kume	Official Chronology	
		A.D.	A.D.	Jap. era	A.D.
Ōjin . .	7	394	408	970	310
Nintoku .	36	427	432	1,057	399

The Kōtaiō monument chronology begins with the date of the Japanese invasion of Kudara and Shiragi in A.D. 391 and ends in A.D. 414, the date of the erection of the monument by King Chō-Jū-Wō. This period almost covers the reigns of the Ōjin-Tennō and Nintoku-Tennō in Japan as shown in the above table. The author, taking into consideration the above table of chronological differences, has tried to frame a new table on the basis of Kōtaiō monument and the *Nihonshoki*, according to the hexagenary cycle in order to testify that the historical events of the monument took place in the Ōjin-Tennō period.

Chronological Table

of Ōjin-Tennō period in years of hexagenary cycle according to the *Nihonshoki* chronicle and Kōtaiō Inscription, compared with official chronology and corrected chronology by the author.

Japanese Official Chronology		Years of Cycle	Corrected Chronology	
1	2	3	4	5
A.D.	Jap. Era			
269	929	己 丑 26 [Tsuchinoto Ushi] Junior Earth Bull	389	1
270	930	庚 寅 27 [Kanoe Tora] Senior Metal Tiger	390	2
271	931	辛 卯 28 [Kanoto Wu] Junior Metal Hare	391	3
272	932	壬 辰 29 [Mizunoe Tatsu] Senior Water Dragon	392	4
273	933	癸 巳 30 [Mizunoto Mi] Junior Water Serpent	393	5
274	934	甲 午 31 [Kinoe Uma] Senior Wood Horse	394	6
275	935	乙 未 32 [Kinoto Hitsuji] Junior Wood Sheep	395	7
276	936	丙 申 33 [Hinoe Saru] Senior Fire Monkey	396	8

Japanese Official Chronology		Years of Cycle	Corrected Chronology	
1	2	3	4	5
A.D.	Jap. Era			
277	937	丁酉 34 [Hinoto Tori] Junior Fire Bird	397	9
278	938	戊戌 35 [Tsuchinoe Inu] Senior Earth Dog	398	10
279	939	己亥 36 [Tsuchinoto I] Junior Earth Boar	399	11
280	940	庚子 37 [Kanoe Ne] Senior Metal Rat	400	12
281	941	辛丑 38 [Kanoto Ushi] Junior Metal Bull	401	13
282	942	壬寅 39 [Mizunoe Tora] Senior Water Tiger	402	14
283	943	癸卯 40 [Mizunoto Wu] Junior Water Hare	403	15
284	944	甲辰 41 [Kinoe Tatsu] Senior Wood Dragon	404	16
285	945	乙巳 42 [Kinoto Mi] Junior Wood Serpent	405	17
286	946	丙午 43 [Hinoe Uma] Senior Fire Horse	406	18
287	947	丁未 44 [Hinoto Hitsuji] Junior Fire Sheep	407	19
288	948	戊申 45 [Tsuchinoe Saru] Senior Earth Monkey	408	20
289	949	己酉 46 [Tsuchinoto Tori] Junior Earth Bird	409	21
290	950	庚戌 47 [Kanoe Inu] Senior Metal Dog	410	22
291	951	辛亥 48 [Kanoto I] Junior Metal Boar	411	23
292	952	壬子 49 [Mizunoe Ne] Senior Water Rat	412	24
293	953	癸丑 50 [Mizunoto Ushi] Junior Water Bull	413	25
294	954	甲寅 51 [Kinoe Tora] Senior Wood Tiger	414	26
295	955	乙卯 52 [Kinoto Wu] Junior Wood Hare	415	27
296	956	丙辰 53 [Hinoe Tatsu] Senior Fire Dragon	416	28

COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF JAPAN, CHINA, AND KOREA DURING THE PERIOD OF ŌJIN-TENNŌ

A.D.	Japanese Emperor	Year of cycle	Chinese Emperor	Chinese nengo	Korean Kings		
					Shiragi	Kōkuli	Kudara
389	Ōjin	26	Hia-Wu-Ti 17 孝武帝	T'ai-Yuan 14 大元	Kin-Na-Motsu 34 金奈勿	Ko-Koku-Jō-Wō 6 故國壤王	Shin-Shi-Wō 5 辰斯王
390	,,	27	,, 18	,, 15	,, 35	,, 7	,, 6
391	,,	28	,, 19	,, 16	,, 36	,, 8	,, 7
392	,,	29	,, 20	,, 17	,, 37	Ko-Kai-Do-Wō 1 廣開土王	A-Shin-Wō 1 阿華王
393	,,	30	,, 21	,, 18	,, 38	,, 2	,, 2
394	,,	31	,, 22	,, 19	,, 39	,, 3	,, 3
395	,,	32	,, 23	,, 20	,, 40	,, 4	,, 4
396	,,	33	,, 24	,, 21	,, 41	,, 5	,, 5
397	,,	34	Ngan-Ti 1 安帝	Lung-Ngan 1 隆安	,, 42	,, 6	,, 6
398	,,	35	,, 2	,, 2	,, 43	,, 7	,, 7
399	,,	36	,, 3	,, 3	,, 44	,, 8	,, 8
400	,,	37	,, 4	,, 4	,, 45	,, 9	,, 9
401	,,	38	,, 5	,, 5	,, 46	,, 10	,, 10
402	,,	39	,, 6	Yüan-Hing 1 元興	Kin-Ji-Sho 1 金實聖	,, 11	,, 11
403	,,	40	,, 7	,, 2	,, 2	,, 12	,, 12
404	,,	41	,, 8	,, 3	,, 3	,, 13	,, 13
405	,,	42	,, 9	I-Hi 義熙 1	,, 4	,, 14	Ten-Shi-Wō 1 腆支王
406	,,	43	,, 10	,, 2	,, 5	,, 15	,, 2
407	,,	44	,, 11	,, 3	,, 6	,, 16	,, 3
408	,,	45	,, 12	,, 4	,, 7	,, 17	,, 4
409	,,	46	,, 13	,, 5	,, 8	,, 18	,, 5
410	,,	47	,, 14	,, 6	,, 9	,, 19	,, 6
411	,,	48	,, 15	,, 7	,, 10	,, 20	,, 7
412	,,	49	,, 16	,, 8	,, 11	,, 21	,, 8
413	,,	50	,, 17	,, 9	,, 12	Chō-Ju-Wō 1 長壽王	,, 9
414	,,	51	,, 18	,, 10	,, 13	,, 2	,, 10
415	,,	52	,, 19	,, 11	,, 14	,, 3	,, 11
416	,,	53	,, 20	,, 12	,, 15	,, 4	,, 12

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(*a*) *Abbreviations.*

ETK.: *English Translation of Kojiki*, by B. H. Chamberlain.

ETN.: *English Translation of Nihinshoki*, by W. G. Aston.

(*b*) *Primary Sources.*

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The Plague and its Effects upon the Mamlûk Army[1]

By DAVID NEUSTADT

FROM the close of the eighth century A.H. till the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in A.H. 922 the Mamlûk army underwent a slow but steady decline. There were three main causes :—

(*a*) Economic : the exhaustion of Egypt's rich resources due to the predatory economic system of the Mamlûks.

(*b*) Military : deterioration of discipline in the army ; its excessive occupation with politics ; the corrupt practice in one section of the army to obtain, for payment, exemption from participation in military expeditions ; neglect of the traditional military training (based mainly on the *furûsiyya* games) ; the insufficient use of new methods of warfare arising from the introduction of firearms.

(*c*) Reduced manpower : the continuous decrease of the population in the native countries of the Mamlûks (especially the steppes of Southern Russia and the Caucasus) ; the outbreaks of plague [2] in Egypt.

[1] This paper is a chapter from a study on the Mamlûk army. It discusses the plague only in so far as it constituted a serious and permanent threat to that army's existence. Thus, for instance, the plague of 695 (Sulûk, i, pp. 810–815 ; Nujûm, Cairo ed., viii, p. 79, ll. 1–2 ; Zetterstéen, p. 37, l. 17–p. 38, l. 14) is not discussed here. Nor does this paper discuss the outbreaks of plague in areas other than Cairo, since the main body of the Mamlûk army was concentrated in the Egyptian capital. Such outbreaks took place in Aleppo and district in 787 (Ibn Qâḍî Shuhba, MS. Par. Ar. 1,599, fo. 9a, ll. 19–22 ; p. 10b, ll. 16–17) ; in Aleppo, Ḥama, Damascus, Baalbek, the Ḥawran, Jordan Valley, Ramleh, Gaza, and Alexandria in 795 (Ibn Qâḍî Shuhba, fo. 90a, ll. 6–8 ; fo. 90a, l. 25–90b, l. 1) ; the great plague in Upper Egypt in 808 (Nujûm, vi, p. 176, ll. 17–18 ; the great plague in Damascus in 814 (ibid, p. 246, ll. 6–8) ; the plague of 825 in Aleppo, Ḥama, and Ḥims (ibid., p. 559, l. 19) ; the plague of 826, which broke out with violence in Damascus and spread as far as Gaza (ibid., p. 565, ll. 6–7) ; the plague of 863 in Aleppo and district (Nujûm, vii, p. 520, ll. 7–9) ; the plague in Upper Egypt in 912 (Ibn Iyâs, iv, p. 109, ll. 15–16) ; the plague of 918 in Alexandria, Rosetta, and several coastal areas (ibid., p. 295, ll. 17–18).

[2] Apart from its common designation of ṭâ'ûn, the plague also had three other designations at the time of the Mamlûks : (*a*) *ṭa'n* (Ibn Iyâs, Cairo ed., ii, p. 18, l. 27 ; p. 169, ll. 27–9 ; p. 170, ll. 1, 5, 15 ; Ibn Iyâs, iii, p. 18, ll. 19–20 ; Ibn Iyâs, iv, p. 306, ll. 14–15 ; p. 375, ll. 5–9) ; (*b*) *faṣl* (Zubdat Kashf al-Mamâlik, p. 112, ll. 1–7 ; Ḥawâdith, p. 337, l. 20 ; Ibn Iyâs, Cairo ed., ii, p. 21, ll. 17–19 ; Ibn Iyâs, iv, p. 95, ll. 4–7 ; p. 298, l. 19 ; p. 302, l. 10 ; p. 359, l. 19–p. 360, l. 2) ; and (*c*) *wabâ'* (Nujûm, v, p. 154, ll. 13–16 ; p. 191, ll. 17–18 ; Nujûm, vi, p. 559, l. 19 ; pp. 652–659 ; Nujûm, vii, 534, ll. 11–15 ; Ḥawâdith, p. 332, l. 6 ; Sulûk, i, pp. 810–815 ; Zetterstéen, p. 37, l. 17–p. 38, l. 14).

Among these causes the plague though not a primary cause played a considerable part in weakening the Mamlûk army. During the ninth century A.H. and the beginning of the tenth, it took a heavy toll visiting the Mamlûk state with far greater frequency than during the early Mamlûk period. In the eighth century the Black Death destroyed a very large proportion of the population and military forces of the Mamlûk state; but it was almost the only large epidemic experienced during that century. While the ninth century saw no outbreak of the same dimensions, a series of severe epidemics broke out whose cumulative effect upon the Mamlûk army was far more damaging than the outbreak of A.H. 749. Apart from the epidemic of A.H. 749, there were two others of major proportions in 764 [1] and 790–1,[2] and one of lesser severity in 760.[3] Of these three outbreaks only the plague of 791 is cited as having affected the army especially.[4] The position was different, however, during the ninth and the tenth centuries. Between A.H. 819 and 919 fourteen serious outbreaks occurred (i.e. one every seven years on an average), as well as two minor epidemics. In almost all the major epidemics the Royal Mamlûks [5] are mentioned as being especially hard hit, and from the number of deaths given by the historians, it appears that a considerable part of the army perished. There seem good grounds for accepting the figures, since the number of Mamlûks was small and every soldier was known and registered in the Dîwân. Moreover, with regard to the numbers of the Mamlûks contemporary historians made extremely conservative estimates, and discrepancies between the different sources are very slight. The correctness of these estimates is corroborated by the

[1] Nujûm, v, p. 185, ll. 12–14; Ibn Kathîr, xiv, p. 312, ll. 17–18, 23–26.

[2] Nujûm, v, p. 408, ll. 10–11; p. 507, ll. 11–13.

[3] Ibid. p. 154, ll. 13–16.

[4] Ibn Qâḍî Shuhba, fo. 28b, l. 19–29a, l. 6.

[5] The composition of the Mamlûk army in Egypt was as follows :—

(i) The Royal Mamlûks (*mamâlîk sulṭâniyya*), which were subdivided into (*a*) the Mamlûks of former sultans (*mamâlîk al-salâṭîn al-mutaqaddima, qarânîṣ or qarâniṣa*); (*b*) the Mamlûks of the ruling sultan (*mushtarawât, julbân, ajlâb*). From among the *mushtarawât* a corps of pages and bodyguards was selected known as *khâṣṣakiyya*; (c) the Mamlûks of the amîrs who passed into the service of the sultan owing to the death or dismissal of their masters (*sayfiyya*). Zubda, p. 116, ll. 14–15; Ḥawâdith, p. 443, ll. 16–19.

(ii) The Mamlûks of the amîrs (*mamâlîk al-umarâ', ajnâd al-umarâ'*).

(iii) Sons of the amîrs (*awlâd an-nâs*) and soldiers drawn from among the local inhabitants (*ajnâd al-ḥalqa*).

numbers of Mamlûks recorded as attending pay and other parades, and by the size of military expeditions.[1] So the fantastic plague casualties given for civilians by the historians should not lead to the conclusion that their figures for the Mamlûk casualties are exaggerated as well. Moreover, Ibn Taghrî-Birdî is in several places critical of the numbers given of deaths among the civilian population, and claims that they are unreliable[2]; whereas he quotes the number of fatalities among the Mamlûks unquestioningly.

The major outbreaks of plague occurred in 819,[3] 822,[4] 824,[5] 833,[6] 841,[7] 848,[8] 853,[9] 864,[10] 873,[11] 881,[12] 897,[13] 903,[14] 910,[15] and 919.[16] Two less severe outbreaks occurred in A.H. 858[17] and 859[18], and these should possibly be regarded as one. According to Ibn Iyâs, the plague of 897 was notable because as many as sixteen years had elapsed since the previous epidemic.[19]

The plague did not affect all sections of the population equally. Its victims were chiefly foreigners and children, elements that had not secured a sufficient degree of immunity, a category which, of course, included the Mamlûks. The local inhabitants having become immune after many generations, were affected to a far lesser extent. In almost every epidemic the following formula, or one resembling it, is used: *wafataka al-ṭâ'ûn bil-mamâlîk*

[1] These matters are discussed in the chapter dealing with the military expeditions and payments to the Mamlûk army.

[2] Nujûm, vii, pp. 530–2, and in the notes; Ḥawâdith, p. 337, ll. 18–21.

[3] Nujûm, vi, p. 357, ll. 15–16; p. 359, ll. 10–11.

[4] Ibid. pp. 394–6.

[5] Nujûm, vii, p. 528, ll. 3–18; p. 534, ll. 11–15.

[6] Ibn Iyâs, Cairo ed., ii, p. 18, ll. 25–7; p. 19, l. 5; Nujûm, vi, pp. 652–9.

[7] Ibn Iyâs, Cairo ed., ii, p. 21, ll. 17–19; Nujûm, vi, p. 758, l. 9.

[8] Nujûm, vii, p. 131, ll. 11–14; p. 294, ll. 18–20; Ḥawâdith, p. 11, ll. 7–15; Tibr, p. 76, ll. 22–3.

[9] Nujûm, vii, p. 164, ll. 7–8; p. 167, ll. 3–4; p. 168, ll. 17–19.

[10] Nujûm, vii, p. 515, ll. 13–14; p. 520, ll. 7–9; p. 523, l. 3; p. 525, ll. 3–6; Ḥawâdith, p. 331, ll. 1–2; p. 332, ll. 5–7; pp. 334–8.

[11] Ḥawâdith, p. 687, ll. 18–19; p. 688, ll. 6–13; p. 699, ll. 2–3; Ibn Iyâs, iii, p. 17, ll. 4–5; p. 26, ll. 17–21; p. 28, ll. 7–11.

[12] Ibn Iyâs, iii, p. 118, ll. 4–6; p. 119, l. 3.

[13] Ibid. p. 282, l. 17–p. 283, l. 2; p. 285, ll. 6–7; p. 287, ll. 11–13.

[14] Ibid. p. 378, ll. 9–11; p. 401, ll. 13–15.

[15] Ibn Iyâs, iv, p. 63, ll. 11–13; p. 64, ll. 1–6; p. 75, ll. 17–21.

[16] Ibid. p. 302, ll. 3–11; p. 298, l. 16–p. 299, l. 10.

[17] Ḥawâdith, p. 206, ll. 6–7.

[18] Ibid. p. 224, l. 16; p. 228, ll. 18–19; p. 230, ll. 11–12; Ibn Iyâs, Cairo ed., ii, p. 48, ll. 9–11.

[19] Ibn Iyâs, iii, p. 280, ll. 2–7.

wal-aṭfâl wal-'abîd wal-jawârî wal-ghurabâ' [1] ("the plague caused death among the Mamlûks, children, black slaves, slave-girls, and foreigners").

The following are details of the havoc wrought by the plague among the Mamlûks on the dates given, in addition to the stereotyped formula just quoted.

In A.H. 864, 1,400 of Aynâl's *mushtarawât* died,[2] whereas the total death rate of the Mamlûks amounted to one-third.[3] In A.H. 881, 2,000 of Qaitbây's *mushtarawât* died, excluding the deaths that occurred among the *qarânîṣ* and the *sayfiyya*.[4] In A.H. 903, 1,000 Royal Mamlûks died.[5] In addition to the above numbers the sources, in referring to the deaths caused by plague, use expressions such as: "the number of dead among the Mamlûks was too great to be counted,"[6] "every day 50 Mamlûks died,"[7] "the barracks in the citadel were emptied of the Royal Mamlûks because of their death."[8] The historians think that, but for the plague, the *mushtarawât* of Barsbây would have exceeded 2,000,[9] and that Qaitbây would have had as many as 8,000.[10] When it is remembered that throughout the Circassian period the Royal Mamlûks never exceeded more than a few thousand on the average, it becomes clear that the plague accounted for a considerable proportion of

[1] Nujûm, vi, p. 759, l. 23–p. 760, l. 2; Ḥawâdith, p. 228, ll. 18–19; p. 705, ll. 10–14; Ibn Iyâs, Cairo ed., ii, p. 18, l. 28; p. 32, ll. 14–15; p. 64, ll. 1–3; p. 106, l. 29–p. 107, l. 1; p. 107, ll. 25–6; p. 168, ll. 6–7; Ibn Iyâs, iii, p. 26, ll. 19–21; p. 28, ll. 7–11; p. 118, ll. 13–14; p. 280, ll. 16–17; p. 378, ll. 9–11; p. 380, ll. 4–6; Ibn Iyâs, iv, p. 76, ll. 9–12; p. 79, ll. 8–10; p. 296, ll. 1–5; p. 301, ll. 5–6; p. 309, ll. 1–2. As far as is known to Ibn Taghrî-Birdî (Ḥawâdith, p. 705, ll. 10–14), no adults of the local population died in the plague of 873, although their slaves and children succumbed to this plague. There were times when the plague took a heavy toll, not only of young boys, but of youths as well (Nujûm, p. 191, ll. 17–18).

[2] Nujûm, vii, p. 543, ll. 1–4, and notes. It was reported at one stage of this epidemic that the number of deaths among the *mushtarawât* of Aynâl up to the 19th Jumâdâ al-âkhira reached 630 (ibid., p. 540, ll. 2–4).

[3] Ibn Iyâs, Cairo ed., ii, p. 64, ll. 1–3. Ibn Iyâs frequently says *mamâlîk* instead of *mamâlîk sulṭâniyya*.

[4] Ibn Iyâs, iii, p. 130, ll. 11–14; Ibn Iyâs, Cairo ed. ii, p. 169, ll. 16–19.

[5] Ibn Iyâs, iii, p. 381, ll. 18–21. The sultan had 30 biers made for his Mamlûks (ibid., p. 378, ll. 9–11).

[6] Ibid., p. 121, ll. 18–19. Ibn Iyâs, iv, p. 306, ll. 14–15. Nujûm, vi. p. 765, l. 20. Nujûm, vii, p. 166, ll. 3–6.

[7] Nujûm, vi, p. 655, ll. 16–19. Ibn Iyâs, iv, p. 307, ll. 6–7.

[8] Nujûm, v, p. 71, ll. 1–2.

[9] Nujûm, vi, p. 773, ll. 6–9.

[10] Ibn Iyâs, iii, p. 318, ll. 7–9.

the Mamlûks. Naturally during epidemics the sultans were greatly concerned about the fate of their Mamlûks: Barsbây was so worried by the death of his Mamlûks that he disregarded a missive he received from Iskandar bin Qarâ Yûsuf announcing his intention of moving against their common enemy, Qarâ Yalak, the Turcoman.[1] Aynâl, expressing his worry about the plague, said: "Barsbây and Jaqmaq wished the plague upon their Mamlûks and their wish was granted them. But I wished no such thing upon my Mamlûks; why, then, has the plague afflicted me?"[2] As to the non-Mamlûk soldiers, they suffered far less. Only for the 749 epidemic do the sources record the death of many of the *ajnâd al-ḥalqa*, but then the *local* inhabitants also suffered to an unprecedented degree.

The losses caused by epidemics were sustained largely by the Mamlûks of the ruling sultan. The reason would appear to be that they were younger than the Mamlûks of the previous sultan and had been serving in Egypt for a shorter period, and they included several hundred pupils of the military schools (*kuttâbiyya*), who were still children or adolescents. Moreover, Mamlûks of former reigns who had not been sufficiently immune had died in previous epidemics, so that most of the survivors could withstand the plague. Regarding the 864 epidemic it is possible to determine more or less what the proportion of deaths among the *mushtarawât* was in comparison with the other classes of Mamlûks. In 865 (a year after the epidemic in which 1,400 *mushtarawât* died), Aynâl died, leaving some 1,200 *mushtarawât*.[3] Even if we assume that he did not buy any more Mamlûks after that epidemic (which he was hardly likely to do, seeing that the *mushtarawât* composed the very foundation of his rule), it appears that more than half the Mamlûks he had bought died during that outbreak, whereas the number who died among the Mamlûks of all classes did not amount to more than a third. It should also be noted that, with regard

[1] Nujûm, vi, p. 653, ll. 4–7.

[2] Ḥawâdith, p. 333, ll. 10–13. The sultan Barsbây told his Mamlûks that God had brought the plague upon them for their wicked deeds, and used the argument of a divine visitation to get them to mend their way and bring about unity among them (Nujûm, vi, p. 768, l. 20–p. 769, l. 4). The death of the Mamlûks from plague rejoiced even Ibn Taghrî-Birdî (Nujûm, vii, p. 535, ll. 13–15; p. 540, ll. 2–4), who was himself the son of one of the greatest Mamlûk amîrs, and had close connections with the highest officers of the army.

[3] Nujûm, vii, p. 671, ll. 15–20.

to two epidemics, the sources make special mention of the death of amîrs of ten and *khâṣṣakiyya*.[1] The reason for this is obvious: the latter were all, and the former very largely, *mushtarawât*.

To show how the plague could undermine the foundations of an army in the East during the Middle Ages, let us cite an example of the fate of one army during the period. In 880 the Qâḍî al-'Askar of the Mamlûk state returned from a mission to Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭawîl, grandson of Qarâ Yalak, and reported that Ḥasan's army had been almost wiped out by the plague, so that it no longer constituted a danger. The sultan was pleased to receive this news,[2] as he had prepared to send an expedition against Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭawîl.[3]

During epidemics the civilian population used largely to migrate to areas not affected by the plague. The sources do not say whether the Mamlûks also migrated. The single exception to this is in respect of the 919 epidemic when, we are told, a number of the amîrs sent their children, and two of them even part of their Mamlûks, to aṭ-Ṭûr. Ibn Iyâs points out that, save on this occasion, the amîrs never did any such thing.[4]

While an epidemic was actually raging, the regular life of the army was disorganized. The plague severely handicapped military expeditions, since many men would die on the march[5]; and so we hear only of isolated instances of sizable expeditions setting out when the plague was at its height.[6] Barsbây did not accept the invitation to participate in a campaign against the fortress of Âmid, because it reached him when a plague was raging in Egypt. The campaign was carried out by Barsbây only three years later. The plague also brought about vast changes and considerable

[1] Ibn Iyâs, iii, p. 121, ll. 18–19; Ibn Iyâs, iv, p. 77, ll. 13–14.

[2] Ibn Iyâs, iii, p. 106, ll. 15–18; Ibn Iyâs, Cairo ed., ii, p. 160, ll. 6–8.

[3] Ibn Iyâs, Cairo ed., ii, p. 159, ll. 3–17.

[4] Ibn Iyâs, iv, p. 298, l. 16–p. 299, l. 10; al-Sakhâwî speaks slightingly about a Mamlûk amîr who ran away from one place to another in order to escape the plague, and in the end died from some other cause (Ḍaw' iii, p. 26, ll. 28–9).

[5] Ibn Iyâs, iii, p. 27, ll. 11–14; Ibn Iyâs, Cairo ed., ii, p. 107, ll. 13–14.

[6] The great military expedition of A.H. 848 against Rhodes set out only after the epidemic had become less violent in Cairo (Nujûm, vii, p. 131, l. 11–p. 132, l. 6). Apparently the plague came to Egypt in the midst of preparations for this expedition. The plague of A.H. 791 was particularly disastrous owing to the fact that it occurred during the wars of succession to the sultanate, first, between Barqûq and his opponents, and then among his opponents themselves. Many died of the plague at the time, and many others were killed in the fighting (Nujûm, v, p. 507, ll. 11–13).

confusion in the ownership of feudal fiefs (*iqṭâ'ât*) and military property. In some outbreaks of plague one fief changed hands from three to nine times. Tailors and shoemakers took fiefs belonging to the *ḥalqa* and donned military uniforms.[1] In another outbreak the number of fiefs that became available was so large, and there was so much confusion and seizure of property, that even the *kuttâbiyya*, studying in the military schools, took fiefs before their release and prior to obtaining their horses.[2] In 897 the sultan assembled the entire army, *julbân* and *qarânîṣ*, and gave each man a horse out of the effects of the deceased Mamlûks.[3] In 919 the sultan distributed among the *khâṣṣakiyya* 800 helmets, 600 sets of horse armour, and coats of mail, shields, swords, lances, quivers, and arrows which had been the property of Mamlûks carried off by the plague.[4]

The Mamlûk army suffered severely from successive epidemics. Before it had time to recover from one a new one broke out. So the plague must be accounted an important recurrent factor in weakening that army during the second half of the Mamlûk period.

[1] Nujûm, v, p. 73, ll. 6–18; p. 72, l. 15. Nujûm, vi, p. 615, ll. 14–15. Ibid., p. 658, l. 7; p. 815, ll. 7–8.

[2] Ḥawâdith, p. 335, ll. 19–21. Nevertheless, a certain amount of order was maintained in the distribution of fiefs during epidemics. In A.H. 897 the *Aynâliyya* received the fiefs of the *Aynâliyya*, the *Khushqadamiyya* those of the *Khushqadamiyya*, etc. (Ibn Iyâs, iii, p. 286, n. 1). During epidemics the *julbân* used to take advantage of the prevailing disorder to seize fiefs belonging to weaker formations (e.g. Nujûm, vii, p. 536, ll. 1–15; Ḥawâdith, p. 334, l. 15–p. 336, l. 9), and to rob the civilian population and plunder their shops (Nujûm, vii, p. 534, ll. 11–15; Ibn Iyâs, iii, p. 380, l. 21–p. 381, l. 8). On the other hand, there were cases where, owing to the decline in the numbers of the *julbân* as a result of the plague, hay and oats appeared on the market at cheaper prices (Nujûm, vii, p. 541, ll. 11–13). In normal times the *julbân* used to requisition such commodities for their horses.

[3] Ibn Iyâs, iii, p. 286, n. 2.

[4] Ibn Iyâs, iv, p. 359, l. 19–p. 360, l. 2.

The Letters of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl-Allāh

By REUBEN LEVY

TO examine a piece of literature bearing a great name and find that it has been wrongly ascribed may be profitable if the work is interesting. Unfortunately, the collection of letters described in Professor Browne's *Literary History of Persia* (vol. iii, pp. 80 ff.) and the *Catalogue of Oriental MSS. belonging to E. G. Browne* (pp. 146 f.) would only have had interest and significance if they had indeed been a transcript of the vizier Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl-Allah's own correspondence or despatches.

Actually many of these letters bear evidence of very dubious authenticity, so that it would be precarious to attach value for historical purposes to any in the collection. Not only do they lack the characteristic marks of Rashīd al-Dīn's style and language, amply displayed in the *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, but they are filled with anachronisms and improbabilities and phrased in the vaguest and most palpably exaggerated fashion. That a statesman both cautious and businesslike such as Rashīd al-Dīn is known to have been should have dealt with matters concerning finance and revenue in such inflated and unrestricted terms as are here to be found is a matter passing belief, more especially since he is known never to have been without a watchful and jealous colleague while he was vizier.

On the evidence, the present collection of letters would seem to be of no earlier date than the fifteenth century and, at a guess, of Indian provenance. The obvious intention universally is to glorify Rashīd al-Dīn's power and magnificence, his princely generosity and exemplary piety.[1]

[1] The following are characteristic passages :

(*a*) (fol. 22*b*)

و چون میخواهیم که آثار خیر و احسان اظهار کنیم و در اکناف عالم و اطراف بلاد ألسن مجموع عباد بذکر محامد ما ناطق باشد همچنین نواب عادل دل و خواجگان انصاف کستر بتمام ولایات ایران از سر حد آب آمویه تا اقاصی آب جَیْحُون و سرحد دریای مغرب و تخوم روم فرستادیم الخ .

(*b*) (fol. 101*b*)

جون ملوک قُبْرُس و سقلاب و صنادید روم ... باجمعهم خوفاً و اذعاناً روی بدرگاه عالم پناه آورده ... و تمامت صدور و اعیان جزایر افرنج چون اصطنبول و بندق و

Professor Storey in his *Persian Literature* (section ii, fasc. i, pp. 71 f.) recapitulates the details of Rashīd al-Dīn's life and gives references to other sources of information. Here it will suffice to give the main facts of his career. He first comes into notice as physician to Abāqā Khān (regn. 1265–1281) but there is no mention of any high office of state for him until the reign of Ghāzān Khān (1295–1304) [1] when he was appointed, conjointly with his rival Sa'd al-Dīn, to the office of vizier. In this office, along with his colleague, he continued when Ghāzān was succeeded by Uljāytū Khān (regn. 1304–1316). In 1312, Sa'd al-Dīn was killed and replaced by a more bitter rival, 'Alīshāh, with whom Rashīd al-Dīn quarrelled so violently that Uljāytū in 1315 divided up his empire for administrative purposes, assigning to each of the two men the government of different provinces. Finally in 1317 he was deprived of office and a year later, in 1318, put to death on the charge of having poisoned Uljāytū.

Now for the letters themselves.

(*a*) Number 7 (fol. 9b) purports to have been written at Sulṭānīyah in the reign of Uljāytū but is dated Sha'bān 690 (August, 1291). It is true that the city was founded under Arghūn (683/1284–690/1291), but it was not called Sulṭānīyah until long after the year 690 when Uljāytū, who was the first Mongol prince to be entitled "Sultan", came to the throne and called the city after this title (cf. *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 55, and trans. p. 61; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 222).

An example of the magniloquence of the letters is to be found in a passage occurring in the body of this one which grants to Majd al-Dīn (presumably Rashīd al-Dīn's son) control over "the provinces of Īrān from the Oxus to the furthest limits of Rūm, whence to the shores of the Indian Ocean (*Daryā-i Sind*) and all the territories of Egypt, the kingdom of Armenia Greater and Lesser, etc., etc." This is a wide assignment, and one which ignores the fact that Egypt at least was never under Mongol control. (According to *Durar al-Kāminah*, iii, p. 217, Ghāzān's empire comprised Khurāsān, the two Iraqs, Fārs, Rūm, Ādharbāyjān, and the Jazīrah. Uljāytū's was certainly not more extensive.)

غیره خراج و جزیه چنانچه بخلفای بنی عباس می دادند آوردنـد و مقرر کـردند
که هر سال بی توانی (*sic*) و توقف خراج وجزیه بدار السلطنه تبریز فرستند الخ.

[1] See Quatremère. *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, p. viii.

(*b*) On fol. 23a there is transcribed a mandate to Shaykh Majd al-Dīn Baghdādī, granting him, in addition to the office of Shaykh al-Islām, that of Shaykh "of the khānqāh of Pādshāh Ghāzān Khān situated in the town of Baghdad". Mustawfī (*Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, p. 32) speaks of the khānqāh which Ghāzān had erected at Mashhad 'Alī (Najaf) but knows nothing of another at Baghdad.

(*c*) Another letter, concerning an administrative appointment, is dated (fol. 26b) from Ṭūs, Sha'bān 670/1272. It speaks of the writer's having neglected a certain Sharaf al-Dīn "because of my great preoccupation with affairs of state and the business of the treasury". At the date given, according to the available evidence, Rashīd al-Dīn was still no more than Abāqā Khān's physician.

(*d*) On fol. 36 there is a letter (No. 19) to the vizier's son Amīr 'Alī, governor of Baghdad, instructing him to provide pensions for certain distinguished *'ulamā* with whom he had lost contact "on account of the subjugation of the lands of Islam and the overthrow of Egypt and Syria", whatever that phrase might imply in the circumstances. The list of persons mentioned is a catholic, not to say an indiscriminate, one; for it purports that Rashīd al-Dīn, himself an adherent of the Shāfi'ī *madhhab* (cf. Browne, *Lit. Hist.*, iii, p. 50), was providing for certain notorious Shī'a divines in addition to others of the Sunnī *madhhabs*. If it is true that he was at one time very anxious to prove his orthodoxy, the fact is at any rate peculiar (cf. *id.*, p. 76). Further, it happens that several of the persons to be included in the list of pensioners are singled out for mention by the biographers as having been men of wealth.

One name in the list is that of Quṭb al-Dīn Mas'ūd Shīrāzī. A man so called was put to death for rebellious conduct by Ghāzān Khān in 700/1301–2 (*Tārīkh-i Guzīdah*, p. 594), but possibly the reference in the list is either to Maḥmūd b. Mas'ūd Shīrāzī the astronomer (d. 710/1311; cf. Brockelmann, *GAL.*, ii, p. 211 and Suppl.) or to Muḥammad (?Maḥmūd) b. M. al-Rāzī the philosopher (d. 766/1364; Brockelmann, ii, 209). *Durar al-Kāminah* (iv, pp. 340 and 339) speaks of both of these men as having been very wealthy and, in any event, the second of them would probably not have been eligible on the score of age. However, it must be admitted that other possibilities remain, even though the compiler of the list seems to have intended it to include only personages of fame.

Next on the list comes the Qāḍī Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Bayḍāwī, apparently the well-known Qur'ān commentator. The date of his

death is unknown: the probability is that it occurred in 716/1316 (Brockelmann: Suppl. i, p. 738), although *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* (iii, i, 78) gives it as either 685/1286 or 692/1293.

Another prospective pensioner is 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī, who was born after 700/1300 and who is reported to have been well provided for already (*Durar al-Kāminah*, ii, p. 322).

Then come, amongst others, Aṣīl al-Dīn b. Khwājah Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, bearer of a famous name; Jamāl al-Dīn Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, who was chief of the Shī'a imāms of Iraq under Uljāytū and again (cf. *id.*, ii, p. 71) a man extremely well endowed; Shams al-Dīn Hindī, a resident of Delhi; Sayf al-Dīn Miṣrī of Antioch; 'Izz al-Dīn Yūsuf Qandahārī; Zakarīyā Multānī and Ikhtiyār Sijistānī.

The inclusion of Indians at that date is worthy of comment and, still more, the assumed writer's constant references to the elevated status he possessed in India at a time when there had been no Mongol penetration into the country.

(*e*) Letter No. 29 (fol. 88b), dated from Multān, requests the addressee, Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī, to inform his royal master Arghūn Khān (1284–91) of the writer's achievements in India; how that he had visited "the Kings and Sultans" of India, impressed upon them the might of the Īl-Khān and demanded their submission to him. He went by sea, and at Delhi Sultan 'Alā al-Dīn sent out his nobles to provide the distinguished visitor with an *istiqbāl*. It is not known from other sources that Rashīd al-Dīn held any office under Arghūn, and, further, the only 'Alā al-Dīn at Delhi who might have fitted the given dates was the Khaljī Sulṭān of that name. He, however, did not begin his reign until Arghūn Khān had been dead four or five years.

A little further on (fol. 91b) the writer declares that the Indian monarch had assigned to him annually shares of the produce of Gujerāt and that the local chieftains were to be made responsible to his (Rashīd al-Dīn's) representatives at Baṣrah—in which neighbourhood he claims elsewhere in the letters to have had large estates—for the supply of such produce.

(*f*) In letter 43 (fol. 143a) the writer speaks of the great friendship between himself and Sulṭān 'Ala al-Dīn "King of Hind", and how envoys were constantly coming and going between them. The letter contains an instruction to his agent to go to India (localities unspecified) and collect the revenues from his estates there.

The crowning effort of the inventor of these *munshā'āt* is displayed

on fol. 143b, where, after a ponderous recapitulation of his vast and all-embracing powers, Rashīd al-Dīn declares himself disposed to bestow upon certain of his old servants munificent largesse, part of which is to consist of the annual revenues of Kirmān, beginning with the year 780.[1] It was a cheap gift, for by that year he would have been dead himself sixty-two years and the intended beneficiaries, already elderly, far longer.

[1] The year is written out in full: سنه ثمانين و سبعمايه (= A.D. 1378/9).

Magical Terms in the Old Testament

By A. GUILLAUME

MY article in the *Journal* (1942, 111–121) has evoked two replies from Professor Driver: the first I answered (1943, 251–254) under twelve heads; Professor Driver has dealt with four only in his second article.[1] If this interchange is to go on I hope that it will follow the precedent set by Professor Driver's controversy with Professor Rowley in the *Z.D.M.G.*[2] Professor Driver had put forward the theory that the Hebrew preposition אחרי was a dual form and not a plural and that it was originally the noun "buttocks". He stated his case and his opponent wrote his reply to each point of the argument. The advantages of this method are that the disputant has to rebut or concede his opponent's points, and the reader does not have to wait six months or more to read a reply to a half-forgotten controversy.

What Professor Driver said[3] on Is. xlvii, 11 was: "the verb which refers to הוה is כפר which has no magical associations." He now says that his point is that Acc. *kuppuru* and He. כפר have no necessary magical connotation.[4] His first statement was untrue: the second is correct. But in the context under discussion the preceding and following verses (9 and 11) plainly refer to Babylonian magic. With regard to שחר nothing would be simpler than to read שׁ (= ס) for שׁ—Professor Driver does the converse on p. 167—and the objection raised disappears.

With regard to הוה he gives no reason for his assertion that it is almost certainly not the same word as *awātu*, despite the fact that the editors of the Ras Shamra texts translated the word by reference to the Acc. *awātu*, and I (independently) hit upon it while searching for a philological parallel to a word which I was convinced was often used in a magical context in Hebrew. Moreover he himself is compelled to translate הוות (windy) *words*!

Professor Driver dismisses the views of Jewish scholars on the

[1] 1. *JRAS.* 1944, 165–7.

[2] 92, N.F. 17, 1938, pp. 53–59.

[3] *JRAS.* 1943, 6.

[4] The rest of Prof. Driver's note on the root *kpr* is incomprehensible to me. He seems to argue that because מחה is sometimes a synonym for כפר I ought to cite the former as a word of magical import! "Once a synonym always a synonym" is a new and dangerous doctrine.

ground that the ancient translators did not recognize the word as magical. On the next page he rejects the ancient renderings of סחרחר " bewitched " as inadmissible. But what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander, and if the ignorance of ancient translators is a valid reason for rejecting a modern rendering he ought on his own reasoning to reject the rendering " bewitched " here.

Lastly my objection to his rendering of Ps. 52, 4

" All the day thou devisest windy words
(with) Thy tongue as a sharpened sword working slander "

instead of

" Thy tongue devisest curses
Like a sharpened razor working slander "

is that it destroys the parallelism and introduces a mixed metaphor. The Hebrew, like the Arab, held that a curse was as effective as a weapon: the Aryan sharpened his arrow by a spell (or a prayer). How this latter fact can support the mixed metaphor which Professor Driver attributes to the psalmist I cannot conceive.[1]

HEBREW NOTES

Professor Driver's ingenious effort[2] to improve on Eitan's emendation of הֲמָה כִּדְוֵי לַחְמִי will doubtless commend itself to some, but it would be simpler to follow the note in the *Muḥīṭ* لَحْم كل شى لُبّه " The *laḥm* of anything is its heart (or centre) " and render:

" My heart murmurs as though in pain[3]
My soul refuses to rest "

thus preserving the frequent association of "heart and soul" in Hebrew, and avoiding the conjecture " לָחֶם fleshy part(s), i.e. entrails or intestines ". An Arabism in Job is no rarity.

[1] In reply to Prof. Driver's assertion, p. 167, note 4, that spells and wild beasts are not naturally associated I need quote only the *hijā*, which acts كهمزة ضيغم يحمى عرينا.

[2] *JRAS.* 1944, 168.

[3] It is true that rumbling of the bowels is not necessarily accompanied by suffering, but as the patient cannot rest and is complaining of his sufferings throughout the long speech in which these words occur, I do not think that the point is relevant. But I agree with Prof. Driver that the text should not be altered to בדוי as כדוי would naturally mean *as in* pain.

Psalm VII, 12–13

By J. LEVEEN

אלהים שופט צדיק ואל זעם בכל־יום:
אם־לא ישוב חרבו ילטוש קשתו דרך ויכוננה:

THESE verses have been a stumbling block to successive generations of editors. One of the latest of these, for example, Dr. W. O. E. Oesterley,[1] has courageously faced the difficulties but, for reasons which will be stated in the course of this note, got himself tied up rather badly. He saw clearly enough that ואל זעם בכל־יום must refer to God's attitude to the Psalmist's enemy. But the difficulties began for him when he took אם־לא ישוב to refer to the wicked man. In the first place Oesterley did not sufficiently realize that the possibility of the wicked man repenting of his evil ways rarely occupied the mind of the Psalmist. It is in the Prophets that we get constant appeals to the wicked to repent, not in the Psalms. By the time of the Psalmists society had largely become stratified. The cleavage between the צדיק and the רשע was complete. To the צדיק or עני the רשע was irretrievably lost. God's clemency was only sought on behalf of the עני straying from the path of righteousness. I would therefore suggest that אם לא ישוב referred to God, at the same time altering אם to גם.[2] The rendering would then be: "God is wroth every day; yea, he will not turn back."

As for אם־לא ישוב, it is obvious that these words fit awkwardly into the rest of the verse, where they are to be found at present. The LXX points the way to a more smooth reading of the two verses. It renders verse 12 as follows:—

ὁ θεὸς κριτὴς δίκαιος καὶ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ μακρόθυμος μὴ ὀργὴν ἐπάγων καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν.

[1] The Psalms, *London*, 1939, vol. i, p. 138.

[2] The א and ג are sometimes confused. A reverse example, where גם should be read אם, is given by Graetz, *Kritischer Kommentar zu den Psalmen*, p. 129. He cleverly emends וגם אתם תמכרו in Neh. v, 8, to ואם וכו'.

Following the clue supplied by LXX we may reconstruct the verse as follows :—

אלהים שופט צדיק < גְּדוֹל־כֹּחַ וְאֹרֵךְ אַפַּיִם >[1]
ואל זעם בכל־יום גַּם לֹא ישוב׃

It will be seen that a portion of what is at present verse 13 in the Masoretic text is now incorporated into verse 12, אם being at the same time changed to גם. By taking גם לא ישוב to refer to God and not to the *rāshā'* the difficulties of interpretation disappear.

When it came to verse 13, Oesterley's difficulties crowded in on him. He realized that to talk of God whetting his sword and bending the bow struck a wrong note here. Yet the obvious solution eluded him. *It is the rāshā' who whets the sword and bends the bow.* A glance at Ps. xi, 2 reinforces this conclusion. In that passage it is the wicked who bend the bow and make ready their arrow.[2] Apart from other considerations it seems scarcely appropriate that the same phrases would be used of God and the *rāshā'*.[3] Moreover, by relegating גם לא ישוב to verse 12, we are provided with room in verse 13 for the very words which we are wanting, and without which the verse is so obscure. Here, too, Ps. xi, 2, comes to our rescue. I would therefore suggest that הִנֵּה רָשָׁע should come at the beginning of verse 13, as it does in Ps. xi, 2, which so largely echoes the meaning of our verse as well as its phraseology. An additional point in favour of this emendation is that the transition from God to the *rāshā'* without mentioning the new subject is grammatically unpermissible. The two verses would thus now read :—

12 אלהים שופט צדיק < גְּדוֹל־כֹּחַ וְאֹרֵךְ אַפַּיִם >
ואל זעם בכל־יום גַּם לֹא ישוב׃
13 < הִנֵּה רָשָׁע > חרבו ילטוש משתו דרך ויכוננה׃

[1] Graetz, op. cit., pp. 171 f., gave this Hebrew rendering of the additional words in LXX, but did not otherwise develop the argument on the lines adumbrated above.

[2] From the similarity of phrasing in Ps. viii, 13, and xi, 2, it is possible that both these psalms were composed by the same author. Another explanation would be conscious imitation of one by the other.

[3] It is true that in Lam. ii, 4, and iii, 12, God is spoken of as " bending the bow ", but the circumstances are different there.

The meaning then would be: "God judges the righteous, to whom he shows himself mighty but slow to anger. But God is wroth with the wicked at all times; yea, he will not turn back. For the wicked man whets his sword, etc."

In verses 13 to 17 we are given the reasons for God's anger with the *rāshā'*. The subject of these verses is now clear: it is the *rāshā'*. The obscurities vanish, and the necessity for performing miracles of exegetical ingenuity in order to force a wholly alien interpretation upon the psalm falls to the ground.

The date of Jāmī's Silsilat al-dhahab: Supplementary Note

By D. S. ROBERTSON

SINCE the publication of my article (*JRAS.*, 1945, pp. 165 ff.) Dr. A. A. Hekmat has kindly sent me a copy of his book *Jāmī*, published at Teheran in 1941 (A.H. 1320). In view of Ṣafī's evidence, he there (pp. 185 f.) dates the first *daftar* of the *Silsilat al-dhahab* between A.H. 873 (accession of Sulṭān Ḥusayn) and A.H. 877 (Jāmī's pilgrimage). He also calls attention to a relevant passage in the poem itself, strangely overlooked by Ethé and by all other scholars. The important line, which will be found on p. 214 of the lithograph of the *Nafaḥāt al-uns* and *Silsilat al-dhahab* published at Cawnpore in 1874, runs as follows:—

پیشتر زین بهشتصد وهفتاد بدعایش رسول دست کشاد

It is obvious that this is the source of the line (unknown to Dr. Hekmat) given at the end of the colophon in the India Office MS. No. 421 (Ethé 1323), which I quote on p. 166, but the writer, while intelligently using it to date the *daftar*, has spoilt the metre by omitting the preposition before هشتصد, and has also corrupted هفتاد to هشتاد. Dr. H. N. Randle informs me that neither of these corruptions occurs in the text of the poem itself given by the India Office MS., and the line is also correctly given by my MS.

The date A.H. 870 must either be a round one, accurate to the nearest completed decade (as Dr. Hekmat assumes, in view of the date of Sulṭān Ḥusayn's accession), or this passage must have been composed a few years before the dedication or completion of the poem: in any case it confirms the early dating of the *daftar*. A complete set of photographs of my MS. has been accepted by the University Library, Cambridge.

Two Sassanian Seals

(PLATE IX)

THESE Sassanian seals were brought from Syria by Dr. William Wright, a missionary who afterwards became secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The inscription on one has been so cut away as to be illegible; on the other are the letters *l'styhy* though the last three are indistinct. This stands for *rāstīh* "correctness". This word, meant to guarantee the genuineness both of the seal and of the document sealed, is common on Sassanian seals. The stones are sards. The scene, the sacrifice of Isaac, is vigorous if crude. Dr. Wright deserves well of scholarship, for he called the attention of the Turkish governor to certain Hittite monuments in Hama and afterwards brought them to England. His book, *The Empire of the Hittites*, written in conjunction with Professor Sayce, is one of the earliest on the subject. He also wrote a book of travel, *Palmyra and Zenobia*, which is still readable.

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OBITUARY NOTICES

Dr. Renward Brandstetter

At Lugano on 17th April, 1942, died the second distinguished Swiss student of Malay. The first was George Hendric Werndly, who, born at Zurich in 1699, went as a clergyman from Rotterdam to Netherlands India, helped there in the translation of the Bible and wrote a well-known Malay Grammar before he died at Batavia (Java) in 1744. The second was Dr. Renward Brandstetter, born at Beromünster on 29th June, 1860, who after taking a course in Sanskrit and Indo-germanic languages at Leipzig, became a teacher of German at Luzern Canton School, until in 1826 he was pensioned off. His interest in Malay arose from a chance meeting with Professor G. K. Niemann, of Delft. Brandstetter's main interest was philology and four of his important essays were translated (and highly and deservedly praised) by Dr. C. O. Blagden, and published as one of this Society's monographs with the title " An Introduction to Indonesian Linguistics ".

Brandstetter next started a series of monographs : *Wir Menschen der Indonesischen Erde,* with such titles as *Die indonesische und die indogermanische Volksseele* (a parallel based on linguistics) ; *Der Intellect der indonesischen Rasse mit indogermanischen Parallelen aus Philosophie und Sprachwissenschaft ; Grundsteine zur alt-indonesischen Literatuurwissenschaft für Sprachforschung und Völkerpsychologie ; Verwandtschaft der Indonesischen mit dem Indogermanischen.* The fact that he had never even visited Asia made some of these studies rather academic.

Brandstetter twice received encouragement from France to undertake a comparative dictionary of Indonesian languages—it should, of course, have come from Holland or England. And at the time of his death he was engaged on *Ein Muster für all-indonesische Sprachvergleichung.* His career as a student of peoples so remote from his surroundings should be an inspiration to cloistered scholars.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

Professor Reynold A. Nicholson, Litt.D., LL.D., F.B.A.

The Society has lost in R. A. Nicholson a Gold Medallist, and a man who had for many years assisted in its counsels. The world has lost a scholar who in his own field was the greatest of his generation.

Born on 19th August, 1868, Nicholson was educated at Aberdeen University and at Trinity College, Cambridge. After proving his distinction in Classics, he turned to Persian and Arabic and quickly made his mark. From a Fellowship at Trinity he went to University College, London, as Professor of Persian in 1901, but returned to Cambridge the following year to teach Persian there. He succeeded E. G. Browne as Sir Thomas Adams Professor of Arabic in 1926, and retired under the age-limit in 1933. He left Cambridge in 1940 and passed the last years of his life at Towyn. He died at Chester on 27th August, 1945.

While Nicholson was an admirably exact scholar in Arabic and Persian, philology as such made little appeal to him; like so many of our great orientalists he was more concerned with ideas than words. Poetry, philosophy, and mysticism were his main interests, and especially the last. His underlying motive in making this choice was expressed simply and frankly in a broadcast he made during the recent war. "As is well known, the doctrines and speculations of the Sufis affected Islam powerfully. To some extent they provide a common ground where men of diverse faiths, while remaining loyal to the creed they profess, can meet in a spirit of tolerance and mutual understanding and thus learn to know and like each other better. If my work has helped in any way towards such an understanding, it has not been done in vain."

Nicholson was a prolific worker. It is the hope of the writer to issue a complete bibliography of his writings later; here there is only room to mention the most important. He would himself have singled out for first mention his monumental edition, with translation and commentary, of the *Mathnawī-i ma'nawī* of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī: this labour occupied the last twenty years of his active life and will never be surpassed. Nicholson counted as his second most important work the *Literary History of the Arabs*, and few would dispute his judgment: it is a book abounding in erudition and exhibiting excellent literary taste. Nicholson reckoned third his translations: certainly very few have equalled him in

this regard, and his renderings of the Arab and Persian poets into verse make delightful reading. The general discriminating public has much to thank him for: the debt of the specialists is no less great. His judgment was as sound as his scholarship, his learning as profound as his application.

As a teacher Nicholson was admirable: to beginners he was understanding and sympathetic, to advanced students he was inspiring and ungrudging in his aid. The rare public lectures he gave were always thronged, and he gave his audiences much to delight them. His shy and retiring manner concealed many great qualities which only a few were privileged to know: they will bear witness to his deep spirituality, his true goodness, and his loyal friendship.

A. J. ARBERRY.

Dr. Nicolaas Johannes Krom

Nicolaas Johannes Krom was born at 'sHertogenbosch on 5th September, 1883. He studied classics at the University of Leiden, taking Sanskrit and comparative philology, and qualified for his doctor's degree in 1908. Selected to succeed Dr. Brandes as Director of Archæology in Netherlands India, he took up the difficult study of Old Javanese. The years 1910–15 Krom spent in Java, where he made himself familiar with the numerous Hindu remains, his primary duty being the organization of a permanent Archæological Survey. In 1919 he was appointed at Leiden to the newly founded chair for the archæology and ancient history of Netherlands India. His lectures were attended by students reading for the Civil Service, and particularly by future members of the Archæological and Linguistic Surveys.

Krom's fame as the great authority on the antiquities of Indonesia is mainly due to three works of outstanding merit. Best known is his *magnum opus* on the Barabuḍur, grand monument of the Mahāyāna. The iconological description of this gigantic *stūpa* with ts 1,500 large sculptured panels appeared in 1920. A somewhat abbreviated English version followed in 1927. Krom not only summarized all that had been written on the subject, but added much that was new, e.g. an interpretation of the series of reliefs illustrating the *Gaṇḍavyūha*.

In his *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst* (1920, 2nd ed. 1923) Krom deals with all the Brahmanical and Buddhist sanctuaries in Java. It was his object to give only an introduction to Indo-Javanese art. The treatment is therefore sober and he abstains from æsthetic digressions.

In his third great work, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* (1926), Krom shows himself an eminent historian. It is a history of Indonesia and in particular of Java from the beginning of the Hindu colonization till the final triumph of Islām (*c.* 1525). The second edition of 1931 is rewritten to such an extent that it is practically a new work. Dr. C. O. Blagden, when reviewing the book (*JRAS.*, 1928, p. 912), expressed the wish that it might appear in English, and the Greater India Society has an authorized translation in the press.

Krom produced several minor works and numerous articles dealing with every aspect of Indo-Javanese archæology. All his works exhibit sound judgment and a masterly familiarity with every detail in the field of his studies.

J. Ph. Vogel.

Otto Stein, 1893-1942

Otto Stein was born at Saaz in Bohemia in 1893. He was a pupil of Heinrich Swoboda and Moriz Winternitz at the German University in Prague, where he obtained his doctor's degree, was admitted Privatdozent in 1922, and in 1930 succeeded Winternitz in the Chair of Indology. At the end of 1938, being a Jew, he was deprived of his Professorship. Information has now been received from a relative in Prague—the sole survivor of a family of twenty-two persons, himself recently rescued from a concentration camp and from death by the downfall of the Nazis—that in October, 1941, Stein was deported with his wife to Lodz and that they both met their death in April, 1942. It had seemed possible that his amiable personality and honourable record might have saved him; but such a hope failed to take into account the impersonal ruthlessness of ideological persecution.

Stein was only 48 years of age when his life was cut short, and his active life ended four years before his tragic death. His career

therefore came to a close just at the stage when his powers were most mature and when he was planning work on a large scale. Upwards of thirty publications appeared under his name between 1922 and 1938, including the major work with which his name is always connected, *Megasthenes und Kautilya* (*Vienna* 1922—*Sitzungsberichte* 191.5), and the considerable study *Arthaśāstra and Śilpaśāstra*, published in four parts in *Archiv Orientální* (vols. vii–x, 1935–8). Some of these publications were stages in the process which he himself called "clearing the way by disposing of preliminary problems"—he uses the phrase when speaking of publications by Winternitz prior to his great *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*—that is, they were prolegomena to larger projects which he had in view. One of these projected works was an Indian Geography, for which he was admirably equipped by his studies in the epigraphy as well as literature of Greece and India. He had inherited from Winternitz the principle of "keeping to the facts", and he would not generalize until he felt secure of having weighed all the available evidences. And how wide a range of literature he could bring in evidence is characteristically shown in his forty-eight page article *Σῦριγξ und Suruṅga* contributed in 1925 to the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*. There is not space to list here his publications; but it is worthy of mention that he thought it a duty to Indian students to write in English as far as possible: and he contributed frequently to Indian journals. One of the latest of such contributions, under the title *India between the cultures*, published in *Indian Culture* (vol. iv, 1938), contains an *apologia* for Indology and *pro vita sua*. "The student has the duty to repay in any form the possibility given to him by other sections of the people to live according to his ideals . . . to search for objective truth . . . to keep to what may be called a *mānasa vrata*." He kept his vow for so long as he was permitted to live.

Stein sent his effects and library to this country early in 1939, and had planned to come himself. It may be of interest to record that with his books (temporarily housed in the India Office) there is the miniature stupa described in his article *A votive stupa from Bihar* (*J.B. & O.R.S.*, xxi, 1935).

Henri Maspéro

Victims of the German terror, Professor and Madame Maspéro were arrested in Paris on 26th July, 1944, because their son was taking part in the resistance movement. The professor, sent to Buchenwald Camp, died on 15th March from the conditions prevailing there. Madame Maspéro, imprisoned in Pomerania, was liberated by the Russian advance.

Henri Maspéro was born in Paris in 1883, son of the famous Egyptologist Gaston Maspéro, who intended him to pursue the same career. But the counter attraction of the Far East claimed him, and after a grounding in Chinese he went in 1908 to a post in the École française d'Extrême-Orient at Hanoi, where three years later he became a professor. Until 1920 he remained there, except for two archæological excursions into China, engaged in research, teaching, cataloguing the library, and writing sinological articles. From Hanoi he went to the Collège de France to succeed Chavannes as Professeur de la chaire de langue et littérature chinoise et tartare-mandchoue, the appointment being dated 24th December, 1919. This post he held to the end, his labours in Paris being interrupted only during a stay in Tōkyō at the Maison franco-japonaise.

One cannot in these few lines do more than hint at his great services to sinology nor enumerate the honours that came to him, among them the presidency in 1944 of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. His writings extend over an extraordinary range of erudition: comparative linguistics, astronomy, textual criticism, mythology, archæology, epigraphy, history, and conspicuously the history of religions. Courteous if he criticized fellow sinologues, he wrote without exulting in discovery and without pedantry. His chief work for popular consumption, *La Chine antique*, is a fascinating masterpiece of summarization; it stands alone. Henri Maspéro was a kindly friend, always ready to help and so modest and retiring as to appear shy and diffident. Not only specialists deplore the stilling of his pen, a larger world had looked to him for interpretation of Chinese culture.

W. Perceval Yetts

Edward Edwards

Mr. E. Edwards, who died at Llandinam on 28th April, 1944, had been a member of the Society since 1905. Born at Llangedwyn on 5th May, 1870, he was educated at Oswestry High School and Bala Theological College before entering the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. On the staff at Aberystwyth in those days was the late Dr. H. Ethé, whose contributions to the study of Persian literature are well known to all serious students of Persian. Dr. Ethé as Professor of German and Oriental Languages was prepared to teach Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Sanskrit, and at least two or three other languages, if students presented themselves. The Oriental language with which Edwards was best acquainted at that period was Hebrew, but under Ethé he studied also Syriac, Arabic, and Persian. He was in fact the first student to take a degree course in Persian since Ethé joined the staff of the College in 1875. When he sat for his examination the External Examiner was E. G. Browne, who thus saw for the first time the work of his future pupil.

In October, 1900, Edwards entered Christ's College, Cambridge, and in 1903 he was placed in the Third Class of the Oriental Languages Tripos, his languages being Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic.

In 1904 he entered the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts at the British Museum, in 1912 he became a First Class Assistant, and in 1935 he retired on reaching the age of superannuation.

His chief contribution to Oriental scholarship was *A catalogue of the Persian printed books in the British Museum*, which appeared in 1922. This excellent piece of work, the first satisfactory catalogue of a large collection of Persian printed books, worthily commemorates his years of labour in the Oriental Department. An earlier publication, *A descriptive list of the Arabic manuscripts acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum since 1894*, which appeared in 1912, was written partly by him and partly by the late A. G. Ellis. To the *Volume of Oriental studies presented to Edward G. Browne on his 60th birthday* (*7 February, 1922*) Edwards contributed an article entitled *Some rare and important Arabic and Persian manuscripts from the collections of Ḥājjī 'Abdu'l-Majīd Belshah; now*

either in the British Museum or in the private collection of Professor Edward G. Browne.

In his later years Edwards was much afflicted with rheumatism and worked under difficulties.

Colonel D. M. F. Hoysted (1874–1945)

As his second Christian name indicates, Desmond Murree Fitzgerald Hoysted was born at Murree in the Panjab, his father, who later became Surgeon-General, Madras Presidency, Indian Army, being then stationed in India. Educated at Rugby School and the Royal Military Academy, he was appointed to the Royal Engineers, and promoted in 1894 Lieutenant in the 26th Field Company, R.E. Serving throughout the South African War of 1899–1902, he took part in, amongst others, the engagements at Coleskop, Colesberg, Modder River, Paardeburg, Bloemfontein, Abraham's Kraal, Nicholson's Nek, the capture of Pretoria, and Vereiniging, receiving the Queen's Medal with three clasps and the King's Medal with two clasps. Returning home from Natal in 1904 he served on the Staff as Division Officer, R.E., and acting C.R.E. Dublin District. He was then posted to the Alexandria Garrison of the British Army of Occupation in Egypt, where he served until 1914, when he was appointed Staff Officer, London District. It was during this long service in Egypt that he acquired a taste for Oriental subjects. On the outbreak of World War I he went to France, and was the second man of the B.E.F. to land at Le Havre on 6th August, 1914. In command of the 9th Field Company R.E. he fought on the Marne and the Aisne, at Armentières, Ploegsteert Wood, and the Ypres Salient, receiving the 1914 (Mons) Star. In September, 1915, he was appointed C.R.E. 22nd Infantry Division, Serbian Expeditionary Force, and took part in the actions at Salonika, the Struma Valley, and Lake Doiran, and in Bulgaria, being mentioned in dispatches on three occasions, and being awarded the D.S.O. for special service in 1916. In 1917 he was invalided home, but was able to carry on the duties of Chief Instructor of Fortifications until 1918, when he returned to France as C.R.E. 3rd Army Defence Lines, B.E.F. After the war he held the appointments of Instructor, Senior Officers' School, Woking, and of C.R.E.

in different areas till 1926, when he became Chief Technical Examiner of R.E. Works, War Office. In recognition of his valuable services in this last capacity he was awarded the C.B.E. in 1930. In that year he retired, and took up the post of Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, which he held for ten years until 1940, when war conditions necessitated drastic reduction of staff. World War II having meanwhile begun he at once offered his services to Government, and he was employed in the Research and Experimental Branch of the Ministry of Home Security. He also served as an A.R.P. Warden.

Hoysted's career in the Army was both varied and distinguished, but his innate modesty made him indisposed to talk about the many campaigns in which he had served. When, however, he could be induced to reveal some of his experiences his descriptions had enhanced value and interest.

To his work as Secretary, R.A.S., he devoted himself with characteristic industry and zeal, always anxious to promote the interests of the Society. Though his health showed signs of impairment towards the end of his term of office, he did not relax in punctual attention to his duties. Ever courteous and kindly, he won the regard of all who worked with or under him.

He married his cousin, Sybil Christine Hoysted, daughter of Lieut.-Col. I. Hoysted. A devoted husband, after her death in December, 1942, his health seemed to deteriorate rapidly. Extra work in the house and garden done, in spite of a doctor's warning, to help his daughters in their heavy duties imposed too great a strain on his weak heart, and he passed away on 3rd October last. He leaves two sons and two daughters.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS OF THE EGYPTIAN CHURCH (by Sawīrus ibn al-Mukaffa'). Ed. by YASSĀ 'ABD AL-MASĪḤ and O. H. E. BURMESTER. (Publications de la Société d'Archéologie Copte.) pp. 99 + 68. Cairo, 1943.

This, the first instalment of the second volume of the history of the patriarchs of Alexandria, is welcome for several reasons. As it is not written according to the rules of the grammarians, it is important for the history of the Arabic language ; it is interesting to find the pleonastic negative after verbs of preventing (p. 5), the attribution of will to inanimate objects in imitation of the Koran (p. 39), and the use of *ribāṭ* in the sense of " ban ", " curse " (p. 23). Apart from the ecclesiastical interest which comes out in unexpected places—it is said that the Muslims forbade the manufacture of wine to prevent the celebration of the mass—the story throws sidelights on everyday life. What is said about the fleet is worth quoting almost in full. After a raid by the Byzantines on Damietta, the governor gave orders to build many ships in the other towns on the coast ; every year they repaired those which were damaged and built new to replace those which were unseaworthy. They sent Christians to the fleet giving them no travelling allowance, not one dirham, and no provision for the road, only a ration of food. They pressed them. The governor took a census of the whole land and allotted to every village a quota of men for the fleet ; he did not give them arms, but inspected them and, if they had defective weapons or none, he made them pay and buy effective arms. They pressed those who were not fit for the course, knew nothing of the sea or fighting. These paid what they had to those who would go in place of them. When they complained and took up other forms of government service (if they could) he gave to each Christian two dinars and fifteen more if he provided a Muslim substitute. An official died and his son succeeded him six months later after forging a letter of appointment from the caliph. Sulaimān b. Wahb, the chief revenue officer, is called *nāẓir*, a title well known later as that of a finance officer. It is stated that Mutawakkil re-dug the canal to Alexandria ; Maḳrīzī says it was Wāthiḳ. Towards the end of his reign Mutawakkil was less severe

to Christians, and monks were relieved from the payment of land and poll tax. Mu'tazz received a deputation from the Christians of Egypt. In the quotation, " the eighteen on whom the tower of Siloam fell," Siloam is written with a final guttural, showing the influence of the Syriac. The editing and translating have been done carefully; misprints are few. The Arabic is so bad as to be in places obscure, but there is little to be criticized in the translation. The editors are probably wrong in correcting the phrase " cooling their hearts " (p. 35); it is a good Arabic idiom. Is there justification for translating *zād* as " money to buy food " ? No attempt has been made to control Sawīrus' story by the statements of Muslim historians. " A rebel from the royal family " (p. 42) seems to refer to an 'Alid. We wish all success to the Society for Coptic Archæology in its new venture.

B. 822. A. S. Tritton.

Melilah. A Volume of Studies [in Hebrew]. I. Edited by Edward Robertson and Meir Wallenstein. pp. viii + 231 + viii. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Manchester University Press, 1944.

Missitrei Heavar. Biblical and Historical Studies [in Hebrew]. By Samuel I. Feigin. pp. xiv + 450. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 6$ in. Hebrew Publication Society of Palestine and America. New York, 1943.

Of the two volumes here reviewed the first attests the continuing vitality of Semitic studies in Manchester University. The book consists of articles and studies by eighteen different contributors and covers a wide range of subjects and centuries, from the Emperor Julian in Rabbinic literature to such modern themes as Byronism in modern Hebrew literature (by J. Klausner), and the philosophy of Samuel Alexander (by L. Roth). We are glad to see, too, contributions by three distinguished non-Jewish scholars, Professor Edward Robertson, Professor Rowley, and Dr. Fish. (We are not told whether these scholars wrote their articles in Hebrew or whether they have been translated.) It is interesting if not surprising to observe how much more confidently the Palestinian authors handle the Hebrew language. About the other articles there lingers an unmistakable air of artificiality, as if dictionaries and grammars were never far away from the authors. There is here little attempt made to write Hebrew as an art or

exploit the genius of the language. It is, undoubtedly, more difficult to write good prose in Hebrew than in Arabic, to which language it is so markedly allied. Hebrew cannot spin words from its inner resources with the same facility as Arabic. Its relation to Arabic is curiously like that of Latin to Greek. Like Latin, it is a lapidary language. It is sadly in need of those particles which give vivacity and flexibility to good prose writing. We see this exemplified by the author of Ecclesiastes, who struggles painfully in order to hammer the rebarbative Hebrew into an instrument of philosophical exposition. Hebrew, unlike Arabic, has never stemmed the tide of foreign invasion. In Rabbinic times as in modern days it has let in foreign words with such recklessness that the essential structure and character of the language have been seriously weakened. The danger which confronts modern Hebrew—a danger reinforced by a reading of this book—is that of the Mosaic language rapidly degenerating into a language of mosaics.

The book is well printed, but suffers from careless proof-reading. The article by Dr. Marmorstein on the Emperor Julian in the Aggādhāh of Rabh Āḥā is disfigured by a particularly freakish crop of misprints.

The second book, being by a single author, has more unity of treatment, as well as being more restricted in scope. It is divided into two parts. The first deals with individual passages in the Hebrew Bible; the second with wider questions of linguistic and historical origins. The book really consists of articles contributed to various periodicals and newspapers, which have been strung together to form a volume. Some of the articles are very slight and do not go deeply into the questions raised. The author is a Research Associate of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. He is well equipped for the subjects he deals with, as his learned apparatus of notes witnesses. We are rather surprised to see that at so late a date he should feel it necessary to justify to some of his readers a strictly scientific attitude to the text and other problems of the Hebrew Bible.

The subjects which he treats of are so diverse that one cannot criticize them within the compass of a short review. We have only space to deal with one of his arguments. Dr. Feigin is fascinated by the character of Jephthah. In the course of his study he puts forward the interesting hypothesis that Psalm lxxxiii was composed at this period. He does so—to put the matter briefly—because of

references in the psalm to the destruction of Jabin's forces and of Sisera. This is a far cry from those scholars who attribute the authorship of the psalm to Maccabean times. There must lurk some strange protean quality in this poem when the extreme dates assigned to it span a millennium. Dr. Feigin falls into a trap from which a little reflection might have saved him. It does not follow by any means because a certain event is commemorated in a poem that its date should coincide with or be near the time of that event. Dr. Feigin, moreover, wholly ignores stylistic considerations. If we compare the barbaric vigour and vividness of the Song of Deborah—which may well be a contemporary poem—with the neat and polished lines of Psalm lxxxiii, it needs no ghost to tell us that a long interval of time divided the two compositions. We may also note that the really ancient psalms, like xlv and lxviii, teem with difficulties, both textual and exegetical.

These strictures do not detract from a thoroughly interesting work in which the time-old problems of the Hebrew Bible are presented with a certain freshness of approach and with considerable learning.

B. 823. J. LEVEEN.

HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN EGYPT AND SYRIA UNDER THE MAMELUKE RULE. By E. STRAUSS. Vol. I. Jerusalem, 5704 (1944), pp. 377. In Hebrew.

This book is a scholarly work. It covers the Mameluke period in Egypt and Syria, from 1250 to 1517, and is based mainly on Arabic sources. Some of these are but little known in Europe, and not a few of them are available in manuscript form only; their study and application to the present purpose reflect great merit on the young author. Strauss does not restrict himself entirely to the fate of the Jews in Egypt and Syria, but extends his investigation to the whole of the Mameluke Empire, dealing with its wars, e.g. with the Crusaders and the Mongols, with its economic conditions and its cultural life. Naturally all these aspects have a bearing not only on the special conditions in which the Jews lived in these countries, but also on the life of the Christians, as forming the other section of the *ahl al-kitab*, or *dhimmi*. Their fate, as Dr. Strauss shows, was invariably connected with that of the Jews. This aspect of the book will appeal more to the historian; the

theologian will be interested mainly in the polemical literature, e.g. the book of Ibn Thamia, with which the author deals most aptly. A second volume is to follow.

B. 824. S. KRAUSS.

TURKISH READER. By P. WITTEK. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. 134. Lund Humphries, 1945. 10*s.* 6*d.*

VOCABULARY TO THE TURKISH READER. pp. 27. 4*s.* 6*d.*

These books by the author of *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, published as a monograph by the Society in 1939, fulfil a need. The Reader "is not so much an exercise book for the beginner. It is rather a collection of texts preparing the student for what he will meet in Turkish books and newspapers". Mostly the texts have been taken from masters of the short story in which modern Turkish writers excel. The translations and notes are the more valuable because there exist in English no comprehensive Turkish grammar and no modern Turkish-English dictionary of any value. The vocabularies contain nearly 4,000 words. It is to be hoped that the institution by London University of an honours' degree in Turkish will encourage the study of an important and interesting language, for which these books pave the way so adequately. Incidentally, they are the fruit of the enforced stay in England of a fugitive from Nazi tyranny.

B. 825.

Far East

READINGS IN TRADITIONAL CHINESE. Edited by CHI-CHEN WANG. pp. xv + 243. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. $3.00.

Manuals of the Chinese spoken language abound, but one devoted entirely to literary Chinese is something of a rarity. This volume contains passages selected from various authors, most of them quite early, and hardly any later than the twelfth century. While including as many different kinds of composition as possible, the editor has inclined towards material interesting in itself and also throwing light on Chinese life and notions. The *Shuo Yüan* supplies 24 pieces out of a total of 250; next in order come Lieh Tzŭ with 19, Mencius with 17, *Kuo Ts'ê* with 15, and *Tso Chuan* with 11. It is rather surprising that, while Lieh Tzŭ is so copiously represented,

nothing has been taken from Chuang Tzŭ; but the crisp and telling anecdotes in which Lieh Tzŭ excels are eminently suited to a work of this kind. Of poetry there is comparatively little, but a few short specimens by well known masters are sprinkled here and there. The general aim has been to enlarge the amount of reading matter available for the advanced student, and to encourage him to tackle all sorts of Chinese texts. It is refreshing to find a teacher who refuses to indulge in what he calls "pseudo-grammatical exposition", and advocates wide reading as the best means of developing a feeling for Chinese idiom.

The book opens with a number of proverbs and popular sayings, some of which I do not remember to have seen before. For instance: "By getting drunk you may dispel a thousand cares, but when you are sober again the cares are still there." "If water is too pure it will harbour no fish; if a man is too meticulous he will attract no followers." Among other novel features, we find the same anecdote told in slightly different language by different authors (Nos. 130–5). And the original commentary is included with ten of the longer extracts. So difficult are many of the other pieces that commentary would have been welcome there as well; but we are promised a complete vocabulary and notes later. The selections are not grouped in any particular order, chronological or other; but far from being a fault, this will afford a pleasing variety to anyone working his way straight through the book. Not much more than a third of it is in ordinary print: the rest is neatly hand-copied and lithographed, introducing a number of "unauthorized" and abbreviated characters which it is useful for the student to know.

B. 826. LIONEL GILES.

SHAMSU'L-DIN VAN PASAI. By C. A. O. VAN NIEUWENHUIJZE. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 418. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1945.

This valuable study of Islamic mysticism in seventeenth century Sumatra is one of those remarkable theses on Indonesian subjects done by candidates for a doctorate at Leiden, but unfortunately known only to those few scholars who can read Dutch. It has an adventitious interest because the author had to shut himself up with his books and manuscripts for fear the Germans should conscript him and prevent his research. For us, too, his subject,

Shamsu'l-din of Pasai, has the fortuitous interest of having been perhaps "the chief bishope of the realme" of Acheh, who conducted trade negotiations with Sir James Lancaster, and the "archbishop" whom John Davis met. This erudite Malay left writings both in Malay and in Arabic, whose contents this volume either gives in the original or outlines in Dutch. "He is," his commentator remarks, "typically Indonesian especially in the way he chooses as his favourite subject, first the doctrine of existence, its unity and differentiation, and secondly the *ḍikr* (reciting) of the formulæ of *shahada* and *tauḥīd*." His mysticism, standing midway between Indian and Javanese forms, is of the speculative rather than of the emotional type and centres round the doctrine of the Unity of Existence and of the Perfect Man. The vision of man as the all-embracing manifestation of prime Reality clears the way for absorption into absolute Unity. Shamsu'l-din's mysticism was condemned as heretical pantheism by his critics, especially al-Raniri, who confuted his pupils before the Sultan of Acheh, got his books burnt, and wrote tracts denouncing him as claiming like Pharaoh to be God. This like previous theses for the Leiden doctorate by Rinkes, Schrieke, Kraemer, and Doorenbos not only throws light on Indonesian civilization but provides material essential for the history of the spread of Islam.

B. 827. R. O. WINSTEDT.

SIAM THE CROSSROADS. By SIR JOSIAH CROSBY, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.I.E. Hollis and Carter, Ltd., 1945.

In this well-balanced picture of modern Siam the foreground is the period of political experiment that followed the abolition by force of Autocratic Monarchy in June, 1932—a date two years before the author's return as British Minister to the country which had seen the major part of his official career since 1904. His fourth section, describing the *coup d'état* of 1932 and its consequences, is the kernel of a study showing how all attempts at establishing constitutional government became abortive and culminated in military dictatorship.

He holds that the Liberals must expect trouble as long as the force backing them is that of a conscript army and navy, too small to protect the country against a major power, but too large for the

safety of popular institutions in the present absence of a valid public opinion.

The chauvinistic associations implicit in *Thailand* as a substitute for *Siam* are rightly stressed. The attempt to use *Thai* as a symbol of unity among people of kindred stock seems somewhat incongruous when we find the word *SYAM* on Cham inscriptions (quoted by both R. C. Majumdar and George Maspéro in their respective studies of Champa) at least two centuries before Thai liberation from Cambodian rule.

There are two omissions in the map: (1) the Burma railway-line from Moulmein to Tavoy (now linked up with the section to Siam), (2) the F.I.C. railway-line from Hanoi to Langson on the Kwangsi border. Furthermore, the lacquer-work of Northern Siam deserves mention on page 24 beside the niello of the south.

B. 828. E. W. HUTCHINSON.

India

HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA (Ancient and Medieval Religious and Civil Law). By PANDURANG VAMAN KANE. Vol. II (2 parts). $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. xlvii + 1368. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. [Government Oriental Series, Class B, No. 6.] 1941.

The first volume of this work, which appeared in 1930 (see review in *JRAS.*, 1932, pp. 158 ff.), dealt chiefly with chronology, giving a history of works on the subject from the earliest times to the eighteenth century. The present volume gives us the first part of a detailed account of the subject matter of the works themselves, treating of *varṇa*, *saṃskāras*, *āśramas*, marriage, daily conduct, etc., concluding with a description of the Śrauta sacrifices. For a promised third volume are reserved the treatment of law proper (*vyavahāra*), *śrāddhas*, death and birth-impurity, penances, and a few minor matters such as pilgrimages, vows, and so forth, as well as the interesting question of the influence of the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā and other *śāstras* on the development of teachings on *dharma*.

In the present volume the standpoint from which these topics are seen is throughout that of the texts themselves. Even when modern cases are cited it is to illustrate the views of the classical writers on law. This is legitimate, and indeed necessary in a work

designed for students of law and the history of law; but it is a pity that this over-academic approach has not been tempered with a more frequent reference to actual facts. For example, while an excellent collection is given of the material concerning caste and social organization from the Vedic and older classical literature, the relation between *varṇa* and *jāti* is not satisfactorily discussed, and too little use is made of the observable facts of the modern caste system in the interpretation of the classical theories. In fact, the problem of the historical development of the modern castes is barely mentioned. Again it is stated (p. 164) that the Śūdra "had to observe no restrictions of gotra and pravara in marriage". This is doubtless true from the point of view of the Brahman authors, who regularly denied the right of Śūdras to have *gotras* (according to the Brahman definition of the term), and who in all probability cared little whether or not the Śūdras applied exogamous restrictions in marriage. But at the present day the majority of all castes, of every station, are organized in exogamous groups, and it is clear that in most cases this is not a recent development. One may therefore doubt whether the statement quoted above was ever entirely true: at the very least, in view of the modern situation, it is misleading.

The author throughout shows a commendably sober judgment in his discussion of previous theories, and it is only occasionally that he lapses from this judicial attitude, as, for example, when he says (p. 976), "The (Vedic) hymns may have been composed for aught we know several thousand years before that date (1400 B.C.)." There are few who would now subscribe to such an early dating, but no new evidence or argument is here brought forward in support of it, nor is any attempt made to resolve the difficulties (for example, the extremely close relationship of the language of the Ṛgveda and that of the Avesta) which such a theory must encounter.

Minor blemishes of this sort are trifling when contrasted with the real merit of the great bulk of the work. The author has brought together a vast quantity of material useful not only for the history of law, but for Indian culture generally; and it would be ungrateful not to acknowledge his scholarship and critical judgment. In many respects his is a pioneer work, and will probably remain a standard book of reference for some time to come.

B. 829. JOHN BROUGH.

KEŚAVA PAṆḌITA'S DAṆḌANĪTIPRAKARAṆAM or Criminal Jurisprudence (seventeenth century). Edited by V. S. BENDREY. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 76 + 64. Poona: Bhārata Itihāsa Saṃśodhaka Maṇḍaḷa.

This work, the publishers tell us, was intended to form an appendix to the editor's *Indian Criminal Jurisprudence in Ancient and Historic Times*, but the larger work has been delayed for want of paper. By retaining as a subtitle for this separate publication the high-sounding term "Criminal Jurisprudence", the editor has led readers to expect too much. Keśava-paṇḍita's work is in fact neither a complete treatise on the subject, nor even a very thorough one. According to the manuscript colophon, the Daṇḍanīti-chapter forms part of the Nītimañjarī, itself a subdivision of a larger Dharmakalpalatā. Of these, however, no trace has come to light. The present text, after an introductory eulogy of retributory justice, deals very sketchily with theft, adultery, slander, and assault. The greater part of the work is a mere compilation from the usual Smṛti-authorities, and Keśava gives us little of value in the way of legal interpretation. In his introduction Mr. Bendrey has given a great deal of minute information about the Maratha kingdom of Śivājī, for whose successor the Daṇḍanīti was composed: this part of the book will doubtless offer more of interest to historians of the period than Keśava's text itself offers for the student of law.

B. 830. JOHN BROUGH.

KRISHNA. KONKORDANZ UND KOMMENTAR DER MOTIVE SEINES HELDENLEBENS. Von WALTER RUBEN. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. xx + 334, 10 plates. Ankara: Wien, 1941.

This is a study, as the author himself says, not of the religion of Kṛṣṇaism, but of the epic-legend of the career of Kṛṣṇa himself, as it is told in the Harivaṃśa, the Brahma-, Bhāgavata-, Viṣṇu-, Brahmavaivartta-Purāṇas, etc., and in the Mahā-bhārata. Dr. Ruben has already endeavoured to trace the original form of the text of the story,[1] and the present work is rather a discussion of the content. The various episodes of the life of Kṛṣṇa are taken in turn, and discussed from the point of view of comparative mythology and folk-lore, and a liberal collection of parallels is cited. The theory is

[1] "The Kṛṣṇacarita in the Harivaṃśa and certain Purāṇas," *JAOS.*, 1941, vol. 61, p. 115.

stated at the outset that those parts of the story for which such parallels can readily be found in the folk-lore of the world may be assessed as mythopoeic accretions to an original " historical kernel ", for which *Märchen*-parallels do not exist. This historical kernel Dr. Ruben believes he has found in the episode of the fight between Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha, and by way of confirmation he mentions the cyclopean remains of Girivraja. The historical relation, he claims, is similar to that between the Iliad and the historical siege of Troy. One may question whether this really advances our knowledge in any material way. The " historical " relation is of the slenderest, and if a historical Kṛṣṇa ever existed, we must admit that we have no satisfactory evidence of the fact. At the end of the book the development of the divinity of Kṛṣṇa is discussed; although here also the available evidence is regrettably scanty.

The main body of the work, however, is concerned with the discussion of the Kṛṣṇa story itself, and the merits of this part of the work are considerable. The various episodes are treated with a careful and sober scholarship, and the folk-lore parallels quoted are frequently most illuminating. Many of the hypotheses advanced are of course recognized as tentative, though occasionally this admirable caution is not observed. Thus, for example, in dealing with the episode of the fight with the bull Ariṣṭa, Dr. Ruben is at pains to stress that it represents the Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava opposition, showing as it were the newer Vaiṣṇava religion triumphing over an old primeval bull-worship. The theory is interesting, but it is clear that it is no more than a hypothesis which Dr. Ruben has not altogether succeeded in supporting with convincing evidence. In this, and a few other similar cases, one could have wished for a fuller discussion and a greater caution in arriving at conclusions. There are a few rather surprising omissions; for example, one might have expected that the obvious parallel to the miraculous bodily signs of the young Kṛṣṇa would have been the *mahāpurisalakkhana* of a Buddha, but no mention is made of these. Minor blemishes such as these, however, are of little consequence beside the real value of the work as a whole, and it will be read with great interest by students of folk-lore and comparative religion.

B. 831. JOHN BROUGH.

ANŪPASIṂHAGUṆĀVATĀRA. By VIṬṬHALA KṚṢṆA. Ed. by C. KUNHAN RAJA. (The Ganga Oriental Series: Dedicatory Volume.) Bikaner, 1942.

AKABARASĀHI-ŚṚṄGĀRADARPAṆA OF PADMASUNDARA. Ed. by K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA. (The Ganga Oriental Series: No. 1.) Bikaner, 1943.

The Bikaner State Library possesses a collection of more than 10,000 Sanskrit manuscripts. The bulk of these were collected by Maharajah Anup Singhji (1669–1698), one of the most distinguished rulers of the State and an enthusiastic patron of literature. Recently the manuscripts have been scientifically catalogued under the direction of Dr. Kunhan Raja, and it is proposed to publish the rarer works in a series called the Ganga Oriental Series. As an introductory publication the editors have appropriately chosen *Anūpasiṃhaguṇāvatāra*, a poem in various metres devoted to the praise of the founder of the library. This is followed by *Akabarasāhi-śṛṅgāradarpaṇa* a treatise on the art of poetry composed by its author at the request of the emperor Akbar. As in some other works of a similar nature the author introduces verses in praise of his patron as illustrations to his theories, which are for the most part drawn from the work of Rudraṭa. The circumstances of the book's composition illustrate the interest of the Mogul Emperor in Sanskrit literature. Further numbers in the series are promised.

B. 832. T. BURROW.

WAR IN ANCIENT INDIA. By V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR. pp. xv, 416. Madras, 1944.

This treatise is based on lectures delivered in the Annamalai University in 1934. The subject is treated in all its aspects from Vedic to comparatively modern times, and the author brings considerable width of reading to bear and is also fortunate in being in a position to use Tamil as well as Sanskrit authorities. These advantages are outweighed by carelessness and lack of judgment. Thus we are told that among the materials used for making bows was the horn of the *śarabha*, a mythical animal, and the thunderbolt is introduced in all seriousness in a list of weapons of the ancient Indians. The Rākṣasa form of marriage is mistakenly called Gāndharva (p. 17). A verse from a Buddhist author is taken in a sense opposite to that which was intended (p. 63). Among the

author's flights of fancy is his belief that firearms were in use shortly after the Christian era, and that aerial warfare was known in the twelfth century. The book gives the impression of being a very hasty compilation, and cannot be recommended as a serious contribution to the subject.

B. 833. T. BURROW.

THE ĀRAṆYAKAPARVAN (Part 2). Being the Third Book of the Mahābhārata, the Great Epic of India. For the first time critically edited by VISHNU S. SUKTHANKAR. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1942.

After labouring for seventeen years on the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata Dr. V. S. Sukthankar died suddenly on 21st January, 1943. His death was a great loss to Sanskrit scholarship and Indian culture and was sincerely mourned both in India and abroad. Nevertheless the foundations of his life's work were so thoroughly laid that its continuation was in no way endangered, and we have every reason to believe that under its present competent editorship it will be vigorously brought to a successful conclusion.

The Āraṇyaka-parvan, the last to benefit from the personal editorship of Dr. Sukthankar, is completed by the appearance of the present fascicule. The variety of matter introduced into this parvan makes it one of the most interesting in the whole epic. As is to be expected there are many parallelisms with the Purāṇas, and these are duly noted in the critical notes appended to the present edition. In the Introduction Dr. Sukthankar discusses the relationship between the two, and shows that the Purāṇas, as we have them, are dependent on the Epic for their material. On the other hand a reference in the Epic itself (3. 189. 5 *Vāyuproktam anusmṛtya*) shows that a portion at any rate was dependent on an old *Vāyupurāṇa*; this work, however, must have been quite different from the present *Vāyu*, or indeed any other existing Purāṇa.

In constituting the critical text Dr. Sukthankar follows in the main the principles adhered to in the previous portions of the work. The Śāradā MS. which has been used for earlier parvans is available for a large part of the Āraṇyaka, and is the most valuable single MS. Particular importance is attached by the editor to agreement

between the Kashmiri version, as exemplified in this MS., and the southern recension. Contamination between MSS. from the opposite ends of the country is least likely, and agreement in readings between them a strong argument for authenticity. The editor considers that the best version of the Southern Recension is preserved in the MSS. written in Malayalam script; the Telugu and Grantha versions are much more influenced by the Northern, mainly Devanāgarī version. Incidentally one may here complain that it has not been thought necessary by the editorial board to make use of the Telugu translation of Nannaya. Being a thousand years old it should be particularly valuable in judging the Southern Recension at a time much earlier than any of the extant MSS. Such use has been made of Kṣemendra's *Bhāratamañjarī* in connection with the Kashmiri version, and though that work is only an epitome it has proved very valuable. From the point of view of the Southern Recension Nannaya's full-scale translation ought to be more useful still.

Out of the vast number of Mahabhārata MSS. it is naturally impracticable, and would be of little advantage, to collate every one. The text is therefore based on a carefully selected number of good MSS. representative of the different versions. Even so the nature of the work renders the critical apparatus one of the largest of its kind. Unless some MS. of exceptional antiquity and value were to be found it is unlikely that much could be added to the materials here presented as a foundation of the Critical Edition. Dr. Sukthankar's choice of the reading for the critical edition usually recommends itself. It is not, however, to be expected that in a work of such volume he will have invariably have hit on the right reading, and a critical reader will no doubt from time to time disagree. As instances where in my opinion a better choice could have been made, the following passages may be quoted: In III. 156, 18 read *suparṇāś côragāśanāḥ* instead of *suparṇāś côragādayaḥ*, in 158, 20 *labdhaśailā vayaṃ muktā* instead of *labdhaḥ śailo vayaṃ muktā*, in 159, 58 *putrapautraṃ balānvitam* instead of *putrapautrabalānvitam*, in 161, 7 *abhramāli* instead of *abhramālibhiḥ*, in 161, 9 *yas tejasā* instead of *yam āsthitaḥ*. Naturally it would not be difficult to multiply instances where reasons could be given for preferring a different reading, but they would only form a small percentage of the whole.

T. BURROW.

THE UNSUNG. A Record of British Services in India. By MAUD DIVER. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. 296, 15 illustrations and 3 maps. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood, 1945.

Mrs. Maud Diver had on many occasions introduced us to names prominent in the later history of Northern India and we have under her guidance paid them our respectful homage, but it was a happy idea for her to bring to our notice some of those—mainly engineers—who did great deeds for India, but have hitherto lacked their *vates sacer*. From old memoirs and blue-books and other sources she unearthed much of remarkable interest regarding such men as Alexander Taylor of the Grand Trunk Road, Victor Bayley of the Khyber Railway, and Lionel Jacob, John Benton, and Thomas Ward of the great Punjab Irrigation Schemes, and brought their personalities and their work vividly before us in a series of brightly written sketches. Each of her heroes has his say, and we hear a good deal of the stupidities of their superior officers. But the volume, while containing one or two small slips and not professing to be solid history, is in no sense a work of fiction, and it gives us true and attractive impressions of great work done by great men under great difficulties. It goes far towards filling a real gap in our retrospect of the labours undertaken by British officers in the India of the last hundred years and, as might be expected from a writer of Mrs. Diver's repute, it makes very pleasant reading.

B. 835. E. D. MACLAGAN.

THE AGARIA. By VERRIER ELWIN. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xxxv + 292. Oxford University Press. 21*s*.

The author of this volume on a primitive tribe of blacksmiths offers as his credentials long residence and intimate contact. By this means he has been able to accumulate many interesting details of the life, traditions, and customs of these iron smelters. In his preface to this useful work Mr. Elwin devotes quite an unnecessary amount of space to criticizing earlier ethnographical workers, who, of course, never assumed that their methods were not capable of improvement. In his haste to discredit previous writers Mr. Elwin is guilty of a gross misstatement. The "Tribes and Castes of Bombay" was not, as he states, based on raw material furnished by primary school masters, but on the work of the late Sir James

Campbell, assisted by many competent observers, and published in the pages of the *Bombay Gazetteer*. It is clear that Mr. Elwin has not read the book that he dismisses so summarily. Allowing for this striking error, it may be said that the work, to which the late Sarat Chandra contributes a foreword, is full and complete, and furnishes a good description of these iron workers, though the assumption that they were in origin the asuras of Sanskrit literature seems highly improbable. The survival of a well-defined totemistic system among them suggest a very different origin. Chapter IV contains some interesting material, which would be more valuable if fuller details had been given of the animals and trees so as to enable them to be compared with well-known totems elsewhere.

In Chapter VI, under the head of magic, much information is supplied of a general nature regarding the supersitions attaching to iron. The survey ranges from the Berkshire downs to Japan, and includes many references to its spirit-scaring value, for which the author quotes Mr. (*sic*) Campbell, no doubt referring to the compiler of the *Bombay Gazetteer*. Iron is of special value in dealing with one of the most formidable of all evil spirits, i.e. that of a woman dying in childbirth (p. 146). Known as *alwantin*, this spirit is specially dreaded in the Bombay Presidency.

Mr. Elwin gives a very full account of the various processes of iron working, and the tools and products concerned. Naturally these primitive workers have been greatly affected by the competition of modern works such as Tata's great installation. The book is profusely illustrated, and is an excellent example of the thoroughness of Mr. Elwin's methods of research. We shall look for further additions to his already numerous works on similar subjects.

B. 836. R. E. ENTHOVEN.

Islam

IKHWAN US-SAFA. By OMAR A. FARRUKH. pp. 136. Beirut, 1945. 10*s*.

Towards the end of the tenth century a group of men in Basra taught an eclectic Neo-Platonism and wrote a survey of the knowledge of the age in the light of their philosophy. The result is a mixture of fact and fiction, observation and theory; speculation goes hand in hand with a belief in magic. Dr. Farrukh has summarized the contents of this survey, largely in the words of

the original. There are too many misprints and in places his interpretation seems at fault. Thus on p. 101 the theologians attacked were Mu'tazila rather than Ash'ariyya. While this book is a good introduction to the subject, it does not touch on fundamentals; it assumes that these men were orthodox Muslims though most think that they were Ismaëlis and some have gone so far as to say that they did not believe in any religion. Such doubts are not hinted at.

B. 837. A. S. TRITTON.

STUDIER OVER ERSTATNINGSLAEREN I ISLAMISH RET. By ERIC SCHRAM-NIELSEN. pp. 160. Copenhagen: Store Nordiske Videnskabsboghandel, 1945.

The French title is "études sur la doctrine des dommages-intérêts". This thesis for the doctor's degree of Copenhagen is written in Danish but is provided with a summary in French; there are also many quotations in Arabic. The subject is compensation for injuries: these fall into two classes, those which arise from breach of contract and those which do not. In the first class are problems connected with sales, loans, pledges, and so forth, and in the second blood-money, *ghaṣb* (*usurpatio*), and indirect actions. The following is typical: "A wall overhangs a public road and the owner before witnesses is summoned to pull it down but does not, though he has plenty of time, before the wall falls. He is responsible for any damage to life or property. It is all one whether a Muslim or a *dhimmi* summoned him to pull it down. If it overhangs a private house only the occupier can make the demand." Parallels to Roman law are noted, e.g. in violent death Muslims distinguished four grades corresponding to the Roman *dolus*, *culpa lata*, *culpa levis*, and *casus*. This book is concerned specially with the Hanafi rite, but frequently mentions the others. It has been reproduced from typescript and, for the Arabic, manuscript, yet it is very readable and a pleasant volume to handle.

B. 838. A. S. TRITTON.

A HANDBOOK OF MUHAMMADAN ART. By M. S. DIMAND, PH.D. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 347. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1944. $2.50.

First issued in 1930 under the title *A Handbook of Mohammedan Decorative Arts*, this useful work claims to be the only guide to Muslim art in the English language. The original handbook has been revised "in the light of recent research and excavations, particularly those at Ctesiphon and Nishapur" undertaken by the Museum itself. The branches of art illustrated and described comprise paintings, calligraphy, book-binding, sculpture, wood-carving, ivory and bone carving, metalwork, ceramics, glass and crystal, textiles and rugs. The *provenance* of the exhibits discussed extends from Spain to Mogul India. This area covers nearly but not quite all Muslim art: the chapter on wood-carving, for example, has nothing to say of notable carvings from old mosques in Java. The chapter on sculpture says nothing of the fine lapidary work on tombs even as far afield as Sumatra. Architecture is excluded.

There is a historical introduction, a chapter on the origins of Islamic art, a convenient chronology, and a most useful bibliography. The three plates and 213 illustrations are excellent; so is the general format, but such an indispensable book deserves a better binding.

B. 839. R. O. WINSTEDT.

Art and Archæology

THE WESTERN ASPECTS OF GANDHARA SCULPTURE. By H. BUCHTHAL. Annual Lecture on Aspects of Art, Henriette Hertz Trust of the British Academy, 1945. pp. 28 with 56 figures. Price 9*s*. 6*d*. net.

"There is ample evidence," says Dr. Buchthal, "that the classical influence in Gandhara is not the result of Alexander's Indian campaign or of the subsequent establishment of Greek kingdoms in Bactria and the Indus country. The new cycle of religious sculpture which came into being in Gandhara is based on the main achievement of the art of the Roman Empire, the narrative historical relief." Dr. Buchthal's thesis that Roman art shaped the character of Gandhāra art is not a new one. It was propounded nearly half a century ago by Vincent Smith, but was

abandoned by its author after the publication of Foucher's exhaustive work on the subject.[1] Since then Foucher's conclusions have been fully confirmed by discoveries at Taxila and other sites, and it is a little surprising, therefore, that this discredited theory should again be resuscitated. Dr. Buchthal does not mention Vincent Smith's articles nor does he attempt to meet the counter-arguments to his theory put forward by Senart, Foucher, and others. Like Vincent Smith, however, he endeavours to prove his thesis by citing various similarities, mainly in motif and composition, between Gandhāran and Roman sculpture, which he attributes to the copying of Roman works by the artists of the North-West. The first examples he offers are some small toilet trays (Figs. 1–16), which, he says, " allow us to follow in detail the migration of classical mythology to the East, and to study its transformation at the hands of Indian craftsmen. They cover almost the whole range of classical imagery in its various aspects (*sic*)." We need not pause over the obvious exaggeration of the last sentence, but we feel constrained to ask what these toilet trays have to do with the question of Roman influence. They were neither Gandhāran nor Roman. They were a product of Alexandrian craftsmanship dating back to Ptolemaic times. That they were still being made there after Egypt had passed under Roman rule, is no reason for classing them as Roman. Some of these trays found their way to India during the Śaka-Parthian supremacy in the North-West, and were there copied by local sculptors. A few of the copies have turned up at various places in the Frontier Province and Panjab, but the only considerable group of them comes from the Sirkap cities at Taxila. The majority were found in the late Śaka-Parthian city and are referable to the first century A.D.; others came from the earlier Śaka stratum and are referable to the first century B.C.; one was found in the Greek stratum and may go back to the second century B.C. unless it is a stray from the early Śaka stratum above. This is the tray illustrated in Fig. 13 of Dr. Buchthal's lecture. He calls it " a rather immobilized version of the Roman formula of the myth of Apollo and Daphne ", and then goes on to say that " almost all the essential features of a Roman floor mosaic (Fig. 14) recur on this tray: Daphne kneeling on the ground, supporting herself with one arm on some stone or rock, while Apollo, standing

[1] See A. Foucher, *L'art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhára*, Tome 1, pp. 40–2 and footnotes.

beside her, grasps her other arm with his right hand. The flowing drapery of the god has become a solid mass falling down his back; there is even a reminiscence of the original character of the drapery in that part of the cloak which extends horizontally from his right shoulder". I am afraid Dr. Buchthal has let his imagination run away with him. The scene depicted on the tray is an erotic one of a type common in Hellenistic art, viz. a male figure standing beside a female, in the act of disrobing her. Not infrequently the figures are those of a satyr and nymph; here they are evidently more ordinary mortals, since the man is wearing a sleeved countryman's coat and hat—very far removed from the flowing drapery of Apollo. It would take too long to discuss the other trays individually; all that need be said is that, like this one, they derived their designs and motifs from Hellenistic, not from Roman, art, but that minor Indian features were sometimes added by the copyists.

In order to sustain his Roman thesis, Dr. Buchthal propounds a new chronology for the Gandhāra School, since the generally accepted dates are too early for his purpose. So he tells us that the well-known Mamāne Ḍherī relief, which is dated in the year 89 (in the reign of Vāsudeva), was a "comparatively early work of the School", and that another and very much finer relief of the same subject (Indra's visit to the Buddha) from Jauliān was at least 200 years more modern. In other words, he puts the "floruit" of the School which produced these stone sculptures between the third and fifth centuries A.D., adding in a note that the date of the Jauliān relief "can be fixed by a comparison with the stucco images from the same site which show the same style". How Dr. Buchthal came to reach these astonishing conclusions is hard to imagine. So far from the Mamāne relief being a comparatively early example of Gandhāra sculpture, it is, in fact, one of the latest known to us; and so far from the Jauliān relief being 200 years more modern, it is something like 100 years older than the Mamāne one. Dr. Buchthal is therefore some three centuries out in his dating, and the result is catastrophic for the history of the School; about as catastrophic as it would be for the history of Roman art if, let us say, he were to ascribe the Ara Pacis to the reign of Diocletian. Evidently Dr. Buchthal himself has felt that there was something anomalous about his dating, since he has thought it necessary to offer a far-fetched explanation of it.

Admittedly there is much that is still obscure in the history of Gandharā art, but the main outlines at any rate of that history are now well established and hardly open to dispute. The School was in its infancy in the earlier part of the first century A.D., when the Parthians were ruling in the north-west, and it was undoubtedly influenced to some extent by their Hellenizing tendencies and by the many *objets d'art* which they imported from the West. In the latter part of the first century the School developed rapidly under the Kushāns and was at its zenith in the second century under Kanishka and Huvishka. It declined somewhat in the reign of Vāsudeva and came to an end, soon after his death, with the eclipse of the Kushān empire—an event which was no doubt hastened by the invasion of Ardashīr-i-Bābegān (A.D. 226–240). The date of the School, therefore, falls in the first two and a half centuries of the Christian era. The School had its painters as well as its sculptors, and the latter may be presumed to have worked in clay and stucco as well as in stone. But with the exception of a handful of sadly damaged stucco figures, all the products of this prolific School that have survived are sculptures of stone.

For the next 140 years or thereabouts, i.e. from about A.D. 250 to A.D. 390, art seems to have been all but non-existent in the north-west. This, indeed, was only to be expected, when the economic prosperity of the country, ensured by Kushān rule, had been destroyed, and Buddhism deprived of the powerful support extended to it by the early Kushān emperors. It was not until the last quarter of the fourth century that the advent of the Kidāra Kushāns from Bactria put an end to Sasanid domination in the north-west, and by restoring the political and cultural unity of the country east and west of the Indus over which they ruled, re-established conditions in which Buddhist art could again flourish. A new School then came into being, which is now generally designated the "Indo-Afghan" School. This later School survived until the third quarter of the fifth century, when the White Huns swept down through the North-West, destroying every Buddhist monument in their path and finally obliterating the power and culture of the Kushāns. But in that short space of time the Indo-Afghān School produced a prodigious array of plastic art. Like the Gandhāra School before it, it was born of the soil of the North-West, and naturally inherited much from its predecessor. But there were radical differences between them. Whereas the earlier

sculptors had employed stone as their principal medium, the later employed clay and stucco, and thanks to the plasticity of these materials they attained a command of form and a vitality of expression which are lacking in the more academic work of the older School. Inevitably there was a danger of inferior workmanship owing to the ease with which the softer substances could be fashioned by hand or cast in moulds, and it is not surprising, therefore, to find many of the sculptures disfigured by mechanical repetition or carelessness. At its best, however, the work of the Indo-Afghān School is far in advance of anything of which the older sculptors of Gandhāra were capable.

A second notable point of difference between the two Schools is that whereas the Gandhāra School followed the precedent set by the Early Indian Schools of drawing on the Jātakas and Life Story of the Buddha for its subjects, in the Indo-Afghān School these pictorial panels were almost entirely replaced by Buddha, Bodhisattva, and attendant images. A third point is that, whereas the Gandhāra School was confined to the Peshawar Valley and adjacent country west of the Indus, its successor flourished over a much larger area, including part of the Panjab east of the Indus. Much more might be added about the fundamental differences between these two Schools, but enough has been said to make it clear that no stone Gandhāra sculptures can be assigned to a later date than about the middle of the third century A.D., and that Dr. Buchthal has been quite misled in bracketing the stone Indraśaila relief from Jauliān with the fifth century stucco figures of the Indo-Afghān School at that site.

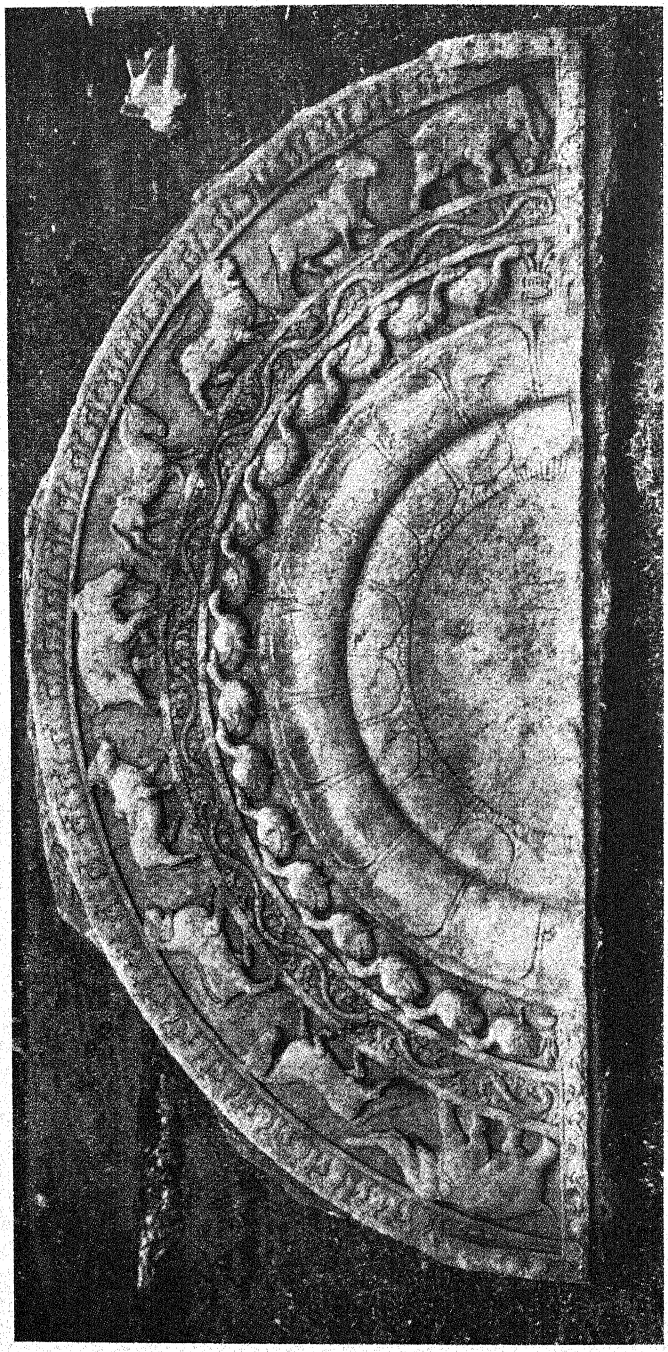
Dr. Buchthal tells us that there is ample evidence that the classical influence in Gandhāra is not the result of the establishment of Greek kingdoms in Bactria and the Indus country. What is the nature of this "ample evidence"? Apart from its coinage we know next to nothing about the Hellenistic art of Bactria, and can only surmise its character. What we do know is that Gandhāra art is characteristic of the cosmopolitan country in which it was born—a country where Indian, Persian, and Greek cultures had met and been fused together, and where Buddhism with its vital Indian traditions was the dominant religion. This being so, the art of Gandhāra could not but reflect in varying degree the influence of those three cultures. This is not, of course, to say that elements derived from other sources were not also present in this art.

Undoubtedly there were such elements. Some of them are traceable to a Śaka, others to a Parthian origin; some to the Sarmatians, and others to the Romans. That the influence of Rome made itself felt at this period in Gandhāra, admits of no question, since the Kushan gold currency was based on the Roman aureus, and at Taxila I myself found pieces of Campanian glass and other objects traded from Italy. Such objects were among the many small articles of luxury which the Parthians imported into India from Western Asia and the shores of the Mediterranean. They may well have supplied the artists of Gandhāra with motifs and other ideas for their sculpture and painting, but they could never have shaped the character of Gandhāra art in the way claimed by Dr. Buchthal. A primary mistake, as it seems to me, which Dr. Buchthal has made in this lecture, is that he has overlooked the fact that Roman art was itself derived to an overwhelming degree from Hellenistic and earlier Greek art, and its relationship to Gandhāra art was, therefore, that of a distant cousin rather than of a parent. A good illustration of this is provided by Dr. Buchthal himself. In Fig. 17 he reproduces a standing image of the Buddha in the Peshawar Museum, and at its side a statue of the Emperor Augustus, which he labels as from Prima Porta. This presumably is a slip. The statue of Augustus found in 1866 in Livia's Villa at Prima Porta and now in the Braccio Nuovo at the Vatican, is the well-known statue representing the emperor in armour. The statue illustrated by Dr. Buchthal is the one found in 1910 in the Via Labicana and now in the Museo delle Terme. To return, however, to the main point. Dr. Buchthal tells us that "The first Buddha sculpture repeats the type of an early Imperial toga statue—perhaps it is even a conscious imitation of a statue of Augustus himself". Yet Dr. Buchthal can hardly be unaware that the type of the Standing Buddha and the type of the Augustus statue were both alike inspired by Greek originals. In the Gandhāra statue the Buddha, who is in the *abhaya mudrā*, is wearing the usual Indian *sanghāṭi* with the *antaravāsaka*, or under garment, showing beneath it. The reason why the *sanghāṭi* bears a superficial resemblance to a toga is simply that both are treated in the same manner as the Greek *himation*. And in this connection it should be noted that in the portrayal of drapery folds the Gandhāra sculptors invariably followed the Greek, not the Roman, technique, in spite of the fact that the latter, if inferior,

was much less laborious. It is also worthy of remark that the Gandhāra sculptors seldom resorted to the method of continuous narration, which is particularly characteristic of Roman relief work, notwithstanding that the method had been freely practised by artists of the Early Indian Schools.

One other point. On p. 26, note 18, Dr. Buchthal quotes the third edition of my *Guide to Taxila* as indicating that I have abandoned my earlier views regarding the dates of the successive strata in Sirkap. I have looked up the reference quoted, but can find nothing to justify his statement. To remove any misapprehension on the point, however, I take this opportunity of stating that, after twenty years' excavation at Taxila, I have no shadow of doubt as to the correctness of my chronology. I fear that no amount of wishful thinking on Dr. Buchthal's part can alter the hard facts revealed by the spade.

B. 840. JOHN MARSHALL.



Masterpieces of Oriental Art. 7

By DORA GORDINE (The Hon. Mrs. Richard Hare)

(PLATES X AND XI)

Carving 2.30 *m. in diameter from Daladā Māligāwa* (*The Temple of the Tooth*), *Anurādhapura.*

THE border of this stone is composed of several rows of ornament. The outermost rim is carved in low relief that not only confines but gives width to the row of animals next to it. Those animals chase one another with the vigour of beasts in a circus ring, their exuberance apparent not only in the general rhythm but in the individual shape of every one of them. Each elephant is modelled with extreme sensitiveness in spite of his monumental form. The horses trot briskly with an air of concentration. The lions are alert and aggressive as if in the presence of danger, while the cows are tame and placid. In every animal the massiveness of the body is a prominent feature, while sculptural stability is retained by the exaggerated shortness of the legs. The animals tread a row of foliated pattern, which gives the feeling of ground for their support and by its elaboration brings out the simplicity of the animals above and the geese beneath. The geese at first glance look symmetrical, yet they are not only pattern but alive, and the reason is that though they are subdued to an architectural purpose, there is individuality in every goose, and a slight variation in the gesture of every head. The lowest part of the border consists of two rows of lotus petals, delicate and faintly traced, the larger row climbing a swelling curve in the stone. The plain centre underlines the smallest modulation in the carving. This stone, which at first sight might be taken for decoration in the modern sense of a trade piece, proves on examination to be particularly rich and beautiful. How very different, for example, from Mestrovic's " Canadian War Memorial " illustrated in *Some Modern Sculptors*, by Stanley Casson.

Primitive Types of Water Transport in Asia: Distribution and Origins

By JAMES HORNELL

(PLATES XII–XIV)

THERE can be no doubt that to Asiatic ingenuity we owe the beginnings of the world's principal types of Water Transport. Early man in Asia invented means of extraordinary diversity to enable him to cross rivers, coast along the sea-shore, transport the produce of his little fields and the spoils of the chase to the tribal barter centre, carry his family and his scanty belongings to a new settlement, go afloat for fishing or waging war or to escape from hostile raids.

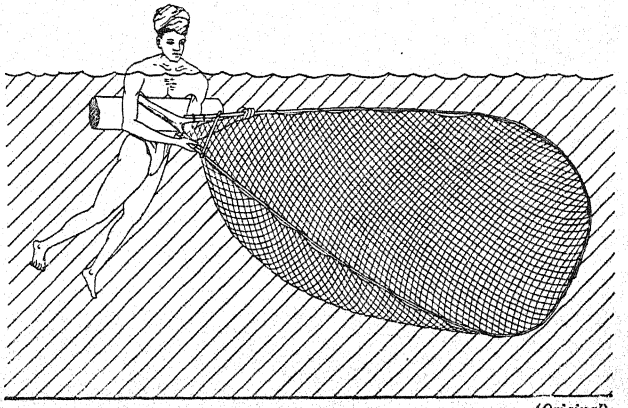
What was the first kind of water transport invented? A canoe-shaped raft of bulrushes or reeds, or a float made of logs tied together, or a tree-trunk hollowed by stone axe and fire, or a trough-like half roll of bark stripped from a forest tree?

Probably there was no single origin; primitive man devising specific types of water transport to fit his environment. A forest-dweller would construct a log raft; a marsh dweller would employ a bundle of reeds or bulrushes, at first single and ridden astride, and later formed into a primitive canoe by the addition of side bundles. Nomads traversing open country intersected by wide rivers would be the most likely people to invent the skin float and then, when need required, to join a number of skin floats together on the underside of a light framework of branches or logs, thereby making the earliest form of buoyed raft. With the invention of pottery, a bowl-shaped vessel would serve, as we shall see, to enable flooded land to be crossed and from this, the tub-boat and the wicker coracle covered with hide may have arisen as being handier and less fragile.

To take these types in order. Simplest of all is the float used by a swimmer for support, and the simplest of these consists of a short block of light wood such as is used by fishermen on the river Cauveri, in South India. Armed with this block about two feet long, and with a big dip-net, the fisherman floats down stream with net extended slantingly in front. At the end of his beat, he wades ashore and tramps back to his starting point, to repeat the operation, until he has caught enough fish, or is tired. (Fig. 1.)

On the Indus as it flows through the Punjab and Sind the fishermen sometimes fish in a related manner but with a bundle of reeds instead of the wooden float. Much more frequently they employ a large globular earthenware jar or " chatty " as a float. On this they ride down stream, resting the body across the mouth of the jar.

Not so long ago, raiding parties from the hills on the borders of Afghanistan would travel down-stream, or ferry themselves across rivers, by similar means. I have seen two of these jars joined together, tandemwise, by means of two rods running between the two mouths; these serve to carry a pad of rushes that functions as a saddle for the fisherman as he bestrides the rods.



(*Original*)

TEXT-FIG. 1.—Fisherman using a swimming float, River Cauveri, S. India.

Although this device is employed generally by fishermen, a man may use it to gather water-lily leaves, to serve as food platters for high-caste Brahmans, who fear to risk the possibility of caste pollution, if their food were served on earthenware plates that may have been touched by the hands of a man of low caste, or of no caste. Sometimes a number of chatties are used to support a light decking of poles.

Variations of the swimming float have been occasionally devised to meet changing conditions or local exigencies. A good example of this adaptability is to be found in use on the large irrigation tank at Kamalapuram in South India, where I have seen fishermen riding astride cords connecting two empty petroleum tins at a distance apart of 15 or 18 inches, while engaged in setting or in hauling their short and feeble gill nets. The only preparation

needed is to make the tins airtight by sealing apertures. Before the advent of these now ubiquitous tins, two bundles of light wood, cut into short lengths, served as the floats.

The commonest type of float in general use now is the inflated skin, small ones made from the skins of goats and sheep, the larger from those of bullocks or buffaloes in India or from yaks in Tibet. This use of inflated skins to aid swimmers is of great antiquity. Examples are to be seen sculptured on the Assyrian panels which Layard brought from the ruins of Sennacherib's wonder palace at Nineveh to be housed in the British Museum. The most interesting scene is where a number of the defeated enemy are attempting to escape from Assyrian pursuers by swimming to their friends in a river fortress down stream. Arabs living on the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates continue to employ the same method when crossing these rivers in charge of their flocks and herds; the skins are often the ordinary ones used for carrying water; if the owner has urgent need to cross a river, he empties out the water and inflates the empty water-skin with air. Clutched against his body, this serves as an admirable support, just as the children of to-day are sometimes given rubber "water-wings" to aid them in their first essays at swimming.

In the Punjab, passengers are commonly ferried across rivers on large bullock skins—strange objects when seen lying inflated on the shore, the shortened legs stretched skywards as the skin rests on its back among the pebbles or when being carried on the ferryman's back. Ordinarily the passenger lies stretched partly over the body of the ferryman when their ungainly steed takes the water. For longer journeys or when an important person is the passenger, a rude raft is constructed by tying together two of these inflated bullock skins; on this a native bedstead (charpoy) is placed to form a platform for the passenger. For propulsion, two ferrymen attend, one on either side. (Fig. 2.)

Smaller skins are employed to form a more stable and manageable kind of raft for transport down hill-streams to the plains; their use enables spare skins to be carried, to replace any that may be damaged on jagged rocks.

But it is on the Tigris, between Mosul and Baghdad, that the raft, supported by inflated skins, is most common. To-day, with the coming of the railway, its importance and even its very existence is threatened, though like other threatened institutions it is likely

to maintain much of its commercial importance for some considerable time, as it offers transport at such a cheap rate that its rivals, the river sailing craft and the railway, are unable to compete except in respect of perishable cargo that has to be rushed to its destination. Its history is long and notable. Herodotus mentions it though, strangely enough, he confounded this cargo raft with that very different craft, the *quffa* or coracle of Iraq. The great raft structure consists of a massive platform of logs supported, according to its size, by varying numbers of inflated goat and sheep skins. On arrival at Baghdad, just as in old times at Babylon, the cargo is discharged by quffas, serving as lighters; the platform is dis-

TEXT-FIG. 2.—A raft buoyed by inflated skins, at Hardwar on the Ganges.

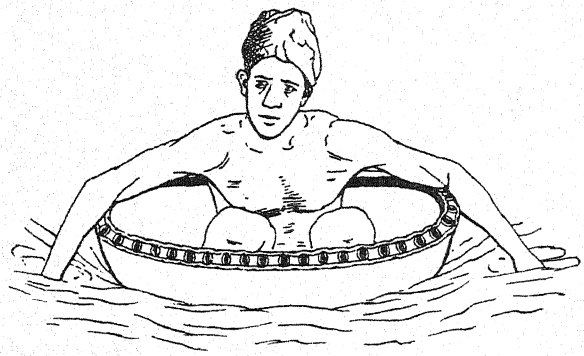
mantled and sold, while the skins that served to buoy it are deflated, loaded upon donkeys, and conveyed homewards in charge of the crew.

In size these keleks, as they are called, vary from tiny ones, buoyed by four skins, up to huge structures that need the support of several hundreds. (Pl. XII, fig. 1.)

I have mentioned the *quffa* of Iraq, a bowl-shaped craft or rather coracle. But the most primitive coracle is the *tigari* of Bengal, which is often the food-trough of the owner's cattle, used as an emergency means of transit between houses and hamlets when the monsoon rains have turned the low-lying countryside into one vast expanse of shallow water. It is the tiniest of craft, just big enough for one man, who paddles along with his hands.

From such a makeshift " craft " as the *tigari*, it may well be that some ingenious individual got the idea of making a larger and safer vessel out of other material than the brittle ware of the potter. (Fig. 3.) If he were an Indian worker in wicker, he would devise a bowl-shaped

basket made water-tight by covering the outside with the only material available to him—the skin of bullock or buffalo. The result would be a coracle of a type that has a wide range in Asia. Its framework consists of an elaborate basketwork with hexagonal meshes, built up with laths formed by the splitting of stout bamboos. Around the gunwale runs a cylindrical bundle of slender bamboos, while over the exterior a large oxhide is stretched. At the greater ferries there are often a number lying upturned on the bank, absurdly like gigantic mushrooms when seen from a distance. As with the *quffa*, their carrying capacity is great. Often I have seen



(*After Dr. B. Prasad*)

TEXT-FIG. 3.—A Bengal *tigari*, a coracle-like basin of earthenware.

a dozen passengers packed tightly in, together with a pile of bags of grain. It is noteworthy that Wellington, with accustomed thoroughness, ordered the construction of a number of these large coracles to ferry his troops across the Kistna during a projected campaign in the Deccan.

Before the opening of the wet season, when the rivers come down in spate, the Hindu coracle men perform a dedication ceremony; foremost among the gods propitiated is the Crocodile God, for this great saurian is the chief danger they fear.

The coracle, built now of willow rods, and covered with yak-skin, appears again in Tibet, where it is valued most highly for river transport. In one Tibetan type, instead of the entire hide being stretched over the frame, the "jacket" is formed of several pieces; the largest forms the bottom with the sides made up of two or even three strips sewn end to end, worked into a tumble-home shape, with the mouth of less diameter than has the bottom. (Pl. XIV, fig. 1.) These are the smallest in size; the larger are of oblong

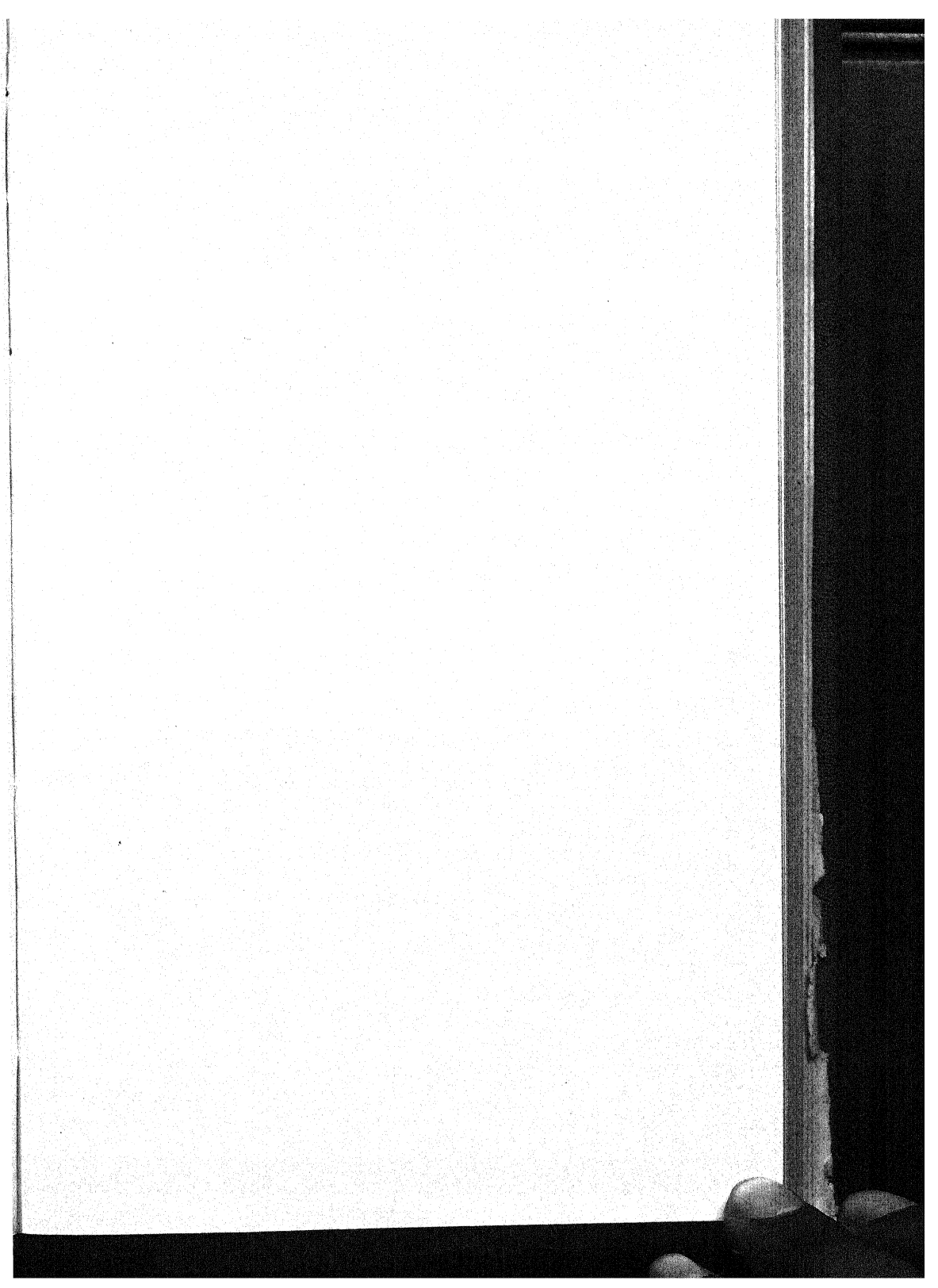


FIG. 1.—A large *kelek* unloading grain at Bagdad ; two quffas act as lighters.

By courtesy of Mr. V. Jeans

FIG. 2.—Tub-boat used by beggars at Wu-hu, Yang-tse-kiang, China.

shape and, instead of being paddled as usual, they are rowed, two-handed by the ferryman, just as is customary when propelling the larger sizes of the Irish curragh.

A coracle of somewhat similar shape to the smaller Tibetan coracle is in everyday use on the Tigris and Euphrates, side by side with the skin-buoyed *kelek* rafts. The Iraq coracle, the *quffa*, is the river-taxi of Baghdad; and the larger sizes serve as lighters for the discharge of cargo brought by keleks and sailing craft. Some *quffa* reach a really remarkable size. (Pl. XII, fig. 1.)

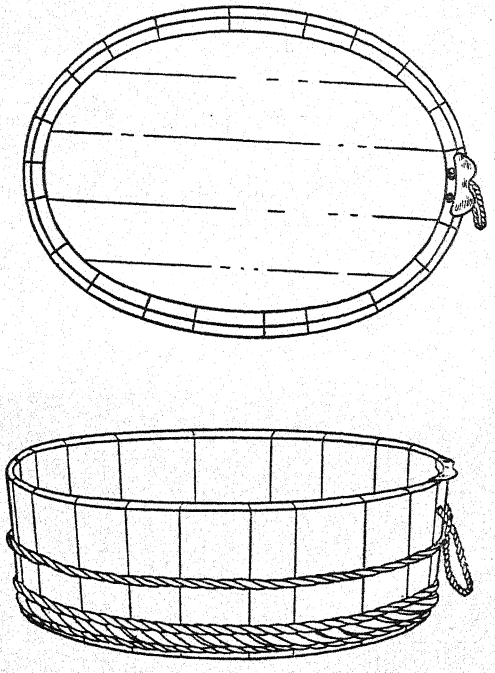
On festive occasions, such as the opening of the Maude bridge of boats at Baghdad, the river swarms with pleasure parties packed tightly into coracles of all sizes; some contain as many as fifteen people or sometimes perhaps even a greater number.

The *quffa* of ancient Assyrian and Babylonian days was, as to-day, constructed of closely coiled basketwork, the coils having a filling of grass, bound round and laced together with strips of date-palm fronds; originally they were covered with bullock hide as in India, but to-day bitumen from Hit has been substituted as being more lasting and needing less repair.

In Asia the coracle continues to flourish on the rivers of Iraq; in India it is of importance on the Kistna and Tungabhadra for ferry purposes, and in Tibet it is almost the only kind of river craft. Strangely enough the Chinese have no skin boats. Any literary references, like the definition of *pi-chuan*, in a dictionary of the Ming period, as a "boat made of hide stretched over a framework of bamboo or wood", probably refer to Tibetan coracles of the kind still in use on the rivers of the Sino-Tibetan marches. Yet the idea of the coracle is not dead. At Wu-hu, some fifty miles upstream from Nangking, the river beggars, who lead an amphibious life, travel their daily rounds of begging in large oval tubs. These queer craft are built of short staves, bound with iron hoops. Except that they are oval and of specially large size, they have the same appearance as the half of a hogshead when sawn across at mid-length. A usual size is from 7 to 8 feet long by 4½ feet wide, and about 2 feet deep. In a tub of this size the whole family goes afloat. Amidships, on a plank raised an inch or two from the bottom, the two oldest of the family propel their craft with short-handled paddles, one on each side. Usually the wife shares this toil with her husband or with the eldest son if old enough. At the stern the ever-present baby has a miniature tub as his cradle,

alongside the baskets containing what food is aboard. Other youngsters stow themselves as best they can. (Pl. XII, fig. 2.)

In Japan the same type of wooden tub is in common use by the inshore fishermen on the western coast. An average size is six feet in length, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet beam, and 2 feet in depth. In plan they are elliptical. Unlike the Chinese type these are sculled over the stern, where a grooved cleat is attached to what serves as gunwale. (Fig. 4.)



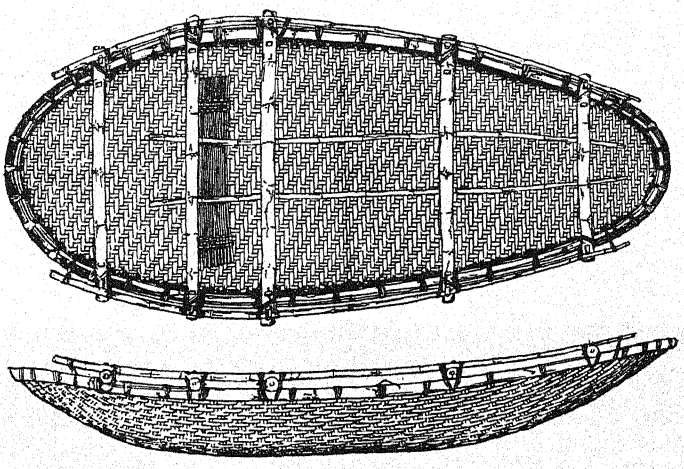
(After Nishimura)

TEXT-FIG. 4.—A Japanese tub-boat in plan and side view.

Still another variation is seen in Tongking, where a closely woven basket boat is the local parallel to the Indian coracle. It is a light, graceful craft, made of inch-wide strips of split bamboo, closely woven into stiff matting, a material of great strength and resiliency. In plan it is of an elongated ovate shape, the wider end serving as stern. Both extremities are spoon-shaped and are rounded in plan. Four or five strong bamboos stretch from gunwale to gunwale to prevent spreading. Before launching, the interstices are daubed with a caulking mixture of cowdung and coco-nut oil,

periodically renewed. Although very light and with little freeboard, they are able to carry several passengers with a quantity of luggage. An example measured was 12½ feet long, 5 feet wide, and 26 inches deep, but many are rather smaller. Almost all families in Tongking who live on the banks of a river possess one or two. (Fig. 5.)

Next come the many forms of watercraft made of bundles of reeds, bulrushes, papyrus stalks, and logs of light wood—a type of craft which leads by gradual and imperceptible degrees to the small Chinese boat commonly called a "sampan", and from that in turn to the great sea-going junk.



(*After Nishimura*)

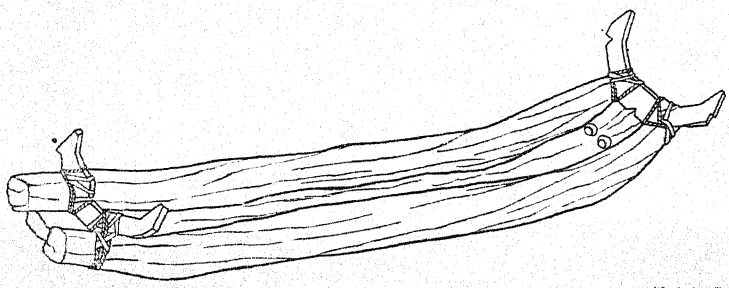
TEXT-FIG. 5.—A basket-boat of Tongking in plan and side view.

Simplest of all are the reed bundle canoes used by the marsh Arabs of Iraq. Like the *quffa*, they have a long pedigree. Some are depicted on the Assyrian panels in the British Museum, where we may see Assyrian soldiers pursuing poor marsh dwellers who flee terror stricken, while Assyrian troops seek to close the streams leading out of the marsh—the only avenues of escape. It was in a small canoe of this kind that Moses was set adrift by his mother on the Nile. And like this tiny Nile craft the reed-bundle canoes of the Marsh Arabs are often daubed with bitumen to prevent them from absorbing water and becoming waterlogged. Outside Iraq there are few Asiatic examples of reed skiffs except those used by the people of Seistan in the south-west corner of Afghanistan when

working or fishing on the Helmand Lake, and others of a like nature found on a few lakes and marshes in the north of India.

When reeds and papyrus are not available, or are unsuited to local conditions, logs of the lightest wood available take their place, particularly in coastal localities. Some of these log rafts are extremely crude, as are those of the reef fishermen of Adam's Bridge, that chain of low islands stretching between India and Ceylon. These rafts are made of a few drift logs roughly lashed together, just buoyant enough to carry their owner and his ingenious fish-traps across the calm water of the coastal lagoon to the edge of the reef where he lays his traps. (Pl. XIII, fig. 1.)

A vast improvement upon this simple type was effected when the number and shape of the component logs became standardized in varying manner according to the purpose to which they were to be



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TEXT-FIG. 6.—A boat-catamaran, Travancore Coast.

put. A common type, popular in the fishing villages in the extreme south of India and along the Travancore coast, is the catamaran, composed of three logs, the deeper-set middle one serving as a keel to reduce drift. A curious feature of these boats is the two-horned fitting which connects the three logs at each end, the whole made fast by lashings. (Fig. 6.)

The next advance, seen on the surf-beaten coast of Madras, is the three-log and the five-log fishing catamarans. In these the centre log (the number is always odd) is the longest, and an upturned prow is lashed on at the fore end. Another innovation is a rowing rail that enables the crew to use oars for propulsion instead of the split bamboo paddle used for smaller catamarans. If one sees the men standing to paddle with a split bamboo instead of an oar, one can well understand how an old-time shipmaster on his first voyage in Indian seas misunderstood the paddling motions of the two

Photo J. Hornell

FIG. 1.—Fisherman's raft, Adam's Bridge Coast, India.

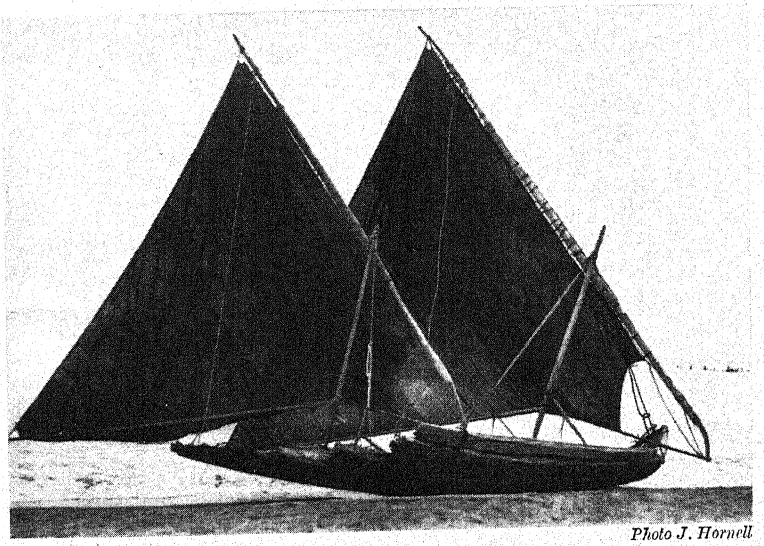


Photo J. Hornell

FIG. 2.—A two-masted flying-fish catamaran, Negapatam, India.

(After Mrs. L. King)

FIG. 1.—Tibetan coracles on the Yalung River, Tibet.

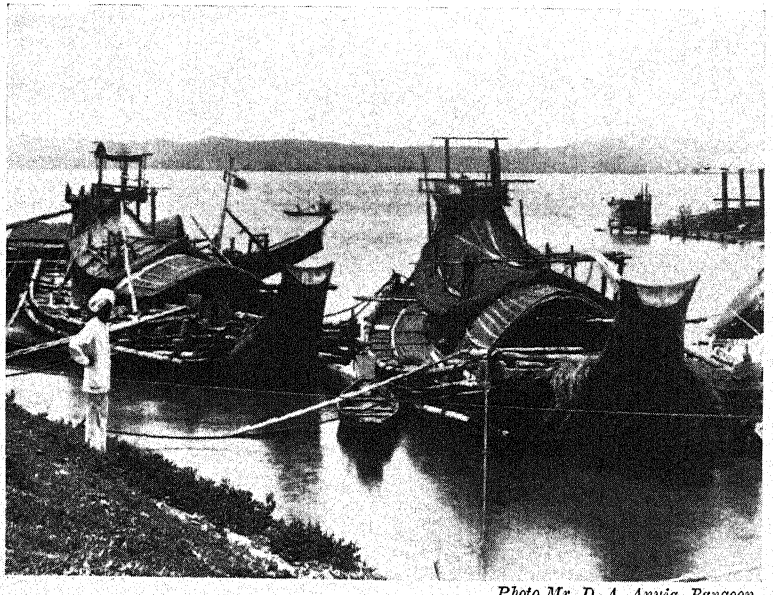


Photo Mr. D. A. Anuja, Rangoon.

FIG. 2.—Burmese river boats of old type. Note the outboard galleries.

men manning such a low-lying craft for the antics of " two black devils playing at single stick on the water ", as he solemnly recorded in his log.

Various other gradations lead to the mammoth catamaran used in the flying-fish fishery. In this, seeing that a crew of seven are carried, an extra number of logs are combined to form a slightly concave platform of seven logs, for the accommodation of the crew, the fishing gear, and the prospective catch of several thousand flying-fishes. As the fishing ground lies some twenty miles out to sea, sail has to be set; sometimes on one mast, sometimes on two. Each short mast carries a large sail of lateen form, but with several peculiarities special to itself, one of which suggests the probability that the form of mast employed was originally of bipod form—a sheermast like that of the Egyptian boats of the 3rd to the 5th dynasty. (Pl. XIII, fig. 2.)

Going northwards towards Bengal, we meet with a type of catamaran on the Vizagapatam coast in process of becoming modified into a true boat with raised sides. Even so, the structure lies so low in the water, with the logs only temporarily tied together, that the waves surge through the interstices and the open-ended stern. But the fishermen find it suitable for their purposes, so that we may conclude that the type is fully stabilized.

As is usual with the catamaran type, the constituent logs are taken apart after the day's work is done, except that the side boards are not dismounted.

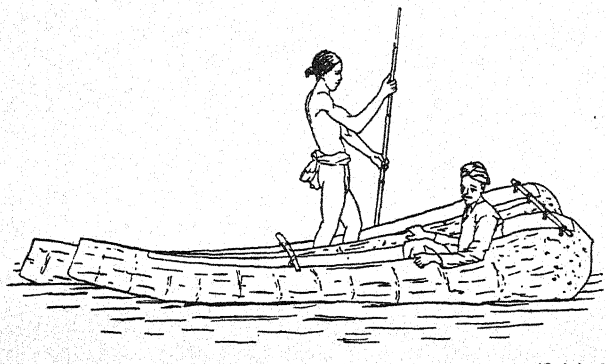
Although the catamaran reaches its greatest development in India, and has there great diversity of design, various backward peoples have had the same idea, even if carried out somewhat differently. Raft-canoes are known from Africa (Angola), and true catamarans from New Guinea and elsewhere in Melanesia.

Another most important type of shaped raft is the sailing raft of Formosa. In this the platform is made up of bamboos cut off square at each end of the raft. The usual Chinese matting sail is hoisted, and a tub is lashed amidships on the platform, to serve the purpose of carrying provisions and perishable articles and to enable (presumably first-class) passengers to keep their feet dry.

But the chief interest of this Formosan raft is the probability that it is the direct ancestor of the ubiquitous sampan, the little Chinese harbour craft used by passengers going to and fro between the shore and the harbour shipping. If the fore-end of the Formosan

raft be brought to a blunt point and the sides pinched in, it would then assume a form closely resembling the sampan were the bamboo poles of the raft to be replaced by planks. In particular, we see in the stern " wings " of the sampan, the counterparts of the horn-like projecting ends of the outermost bamboos at the stern of the Formosan raft—one on each quarter.

Next we come to the dugout canoes made by the hollowing out of tree trunks. The simplest of all dugouts is the *donga* of Bengal—just the lower part of a palm tree, whereof the bulbous butt serves as the prow, the trunk being hollowed by adze and fire to provide further accommodation for cargo and passengers. It is a crank



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TEXT-FIG. 7.—A double *donga* made of two trunks of the coco-nut palm; delta of the Godaveri, India.

craft, difficult to manœuvre except in shallow water. Sometimes two dongas are fastened together to stabilize the craft and give more accommodation. (Fig. 7.) From these have arisen the large number of craft made of twin hulls, such for example as the double-canoes employed so effectively for the long voyages that led to the peopling of New Zealand by the Polynesians.

As craftsmanship advanced, the dugout tree trunk became more shapely and manageable. Nowadays it is in common use on the coast of Western India, where in the north-east monsoon, calm water is normally found within inshore waters, especially in Malabar. In the typical Malabar dugout canoe strengthening ridges cross the floor and climb each side; these were left when the canoe was in process of being hewn out, and they are the precursors of the frames to which in modern wooden ships the planking is nailed.

Of quite a different type are the light draught dugouts on the

great Inle Lake in Burma. The lake is shallow in many parts, and the canoes must be light enough to skim along without going aground. A noticeable feature is the pair of claw-like projections at each end.

The dugout canoe is undoubtedly the initial stage in the evolution of wooden sailing ships, both those of carvel and those of clinker build. There are enough gradation links in India to dispel any doubt of this conclusion.

In the carvel-build, the class embracing most of the larger plank-built vessels of the present time, the skin planking is fitted edge to edge and nailed to rib-frames; the exterior has a smooth, unbroken surface, of value for the reduction of water friction when sailing.

In the clinker-build, the lower edge of each higher plank overlaps the upper edge of the one next below. This type was the one employed by the Scandinavian seafarers during the Viking Age; it is still the favourite build with many of the fisherfolk of Northern Europe, including those of our own land, particularly those fishing out of the eastern and south-eastern ports of England—a legacy left by Danish, Norwegian, and Anglo-Saxon raiders.

In India we find dugouts in common use which demonstrate the first step taken towards the evolution of the carvel type which we may, with justice, term the particular method of shipbuilding characteristic of Asia.

On the Tinnevelly coast of South India, an elegant type of canoe is in use by the fishing community; its basis, the underbody, is a narrow, slab-sided dugout, imported from Malabar. As it is too crank for work off the coast, the Parawa fishermen remedy this defect by giving a flare to the sides after softening the wood by filling the hull cavity with water brought to a high temperature by exposure to the tropic sun.

When enough flare outwards has been given to the sides by the continuous lateral pressure of crossbars and wedges, the flare is rendered permanent by the insertion of a number of U-shaped frames, to which the sides are nailed. Still further flare and beam are obtained by nailing a broad plank, the washstrake edge to edge upon the dugout's flared gunwale on each side. This is generally considered sufficient, but if we were to add several more strakes of planking while using ribs of ever increasing length, we should eventually produce the hull of a typical carvel-built craft, comparable

with those of the schooners, barques, and full-rigged wooden ships of our merchant navy before the days of steel plating.

Originally the planks were "sewn" to one another exactly as may still be seen in the *masula* boats of the Madras coast; European seamen and travellers visiting Indian and Persian seaports in the days of Queen Elizabeth and the Stuarts looked with disfavour upon such sailing craft, considering them crazy and unseaworthy compared with their own ships.

However, these sewn hulls had their advantages as well as their drawbacks; in the absence of deepwater harbours in the East at that period, these boats had usually to take the ground, and often bumped over shallow bars and shoals or struck rocks on the then uncharted coasts. When this happened, the resiliency afforded by the coir sewing was often of inestimable service; although the seams might gape temporarily, the slight elasticity of the coir twine would often ensure their closure when the danger was past.

The greatest defect of sewn boats lies in the wear to which the stitching is subjected through the "working" of the vessel during rough weather, and when aground on an uneven bottom. The only remedy for this is to take the vessel ashore, cut away all the old stitching and then to rebuild her, sewing the planks together with new coir twine. Formerly this was the custom in Ceylon, when the coastal trade was carried on by outrigger craft built after this fashion. The loss of time involved was no great hardship, as it it is impossible to operate such craft so long as the south-west monsoon winds are strong. This period of enforced inactivity afforded ample time to the owner's crew to dismantle the planking, dry it out, and renew the sewing with fresh material.

These Sinhalese coasters were provided with an outrigger, a characteristic feature testifying to the close cultural relations at one time subsisting between the great Indonesian empire of Srivijaya in Sumatra and the island of Ceylon, for it is in Indonesia and Polynesia that the outrigger is now found in fullest development.

It was upon the inland waters of Farther India—the Irrawaddy and the Mekong, that the outrigger canoe had its origin. At first it consisted of a balancing log of wood lashed along each side of a vessel; later it was boomed out a few feet to gain greater counterpoise leverage, with the intervening space floored with split bamboo matting, whereon the crew rowed or punted. (Pl. XIV, fig. 2.)

When some of the river people of Indo-China moved southward nto the island world of Indonesia, the floored outboard gallery, ıseful on placid river voyages, was found dangerous in the open sea ; t opposed excessive resistance to the waves whenever the vessel rolled and heeled over more than a few degrees. So the bamboo flooring to the outboard rowing gallery had to be suppressed, with the result that the gallery became reduced to a single massive beam boomed outboard on each side some distance from the hull—the genesis of the double outrigger. In Indonesia where a multitude of islands usually provide fairly calm water on their leeward side, the double outrigger became the characteristic type of local craft.

But when long voyages across the open sea became frequent, as for example that from Sumatra to Ceylon, and when fishing from outrigger canoes was taken up by the coast people of Ceylon and southern India, even the double outrigger was found too clumsy and dangerous a fitting in rough weather. One of the pair had to be discarded and the vessel had to be made double-ended, so that it might be practicable to sail with a single outrigger always upon the weather side.

So it is that in Ceylon and India no outrigger device is present except the single form. Its occurrence there is peculiarly sporadic. In Ceylon it is found only along the western and south-west coast while in India it is restricted to the western shores of Palk Strait, a few villages on the Madura coast at the head of the Gulf of Mannar, and to a short stretch of the Konkan coast where, in the neighbourhood of Ratnagiri and Rajpur, the single outrigger is favoured by the fishermen for the shooting of their great Rampani seine net.

A few small craft of the same type are also found in the Cuddalore area on the east coast.

Probably the distribution was formerly more widely spread, for I have seen children sailing models of outrigger canoes at Beyt at the north-west corner of Kathiawar. There is ample evidence of early intercourse between Gujarat and Indonesia.

Passing next to the problem of the genesis of the clinker build, the initial stage is again to be correlated with the desire of early fishermen to obtain greater freeboard and carrying capacity for their crank dugouts. In the particular improvement which resulted, the added plank or washstrake was nailed or sewn by the lower edge upon the outer margin of the dugout's gunwale.

With one exception, I know of no further advance in Asia towards

the design of the clinker-built boat as evolved in northern Europe. The exception I refer to is that of the Ganges *ulakh*, a large workaday boat often to be seen moored against the river bank at Benares. This is the vessel employed mainly in carrying stone from the Chunar quarries and sometimes for the transport of faggots to keep the cremation fires alight on the burning ghats.

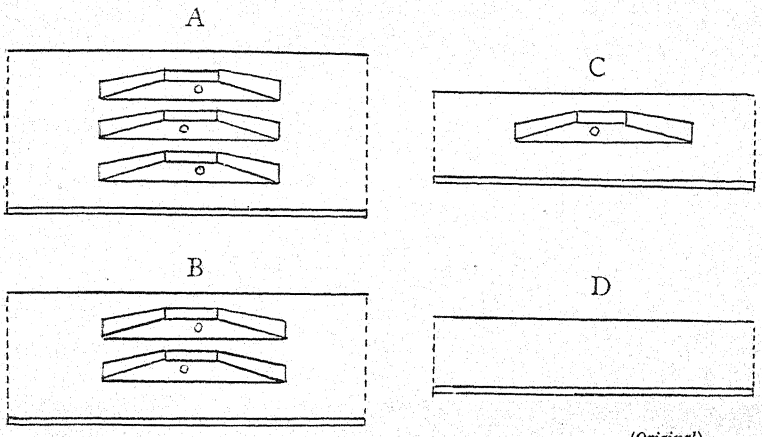
These *ulakh* boats have a number of points of great interest in their construction, one of which is the presence of an early example of the balanced rudder. Even more remarkable is the fact that the hull is clinker built. How this design, entirely foreign to Asiatic boat-building technique, reached the Ganges, I would fain learn, for it seems unlikely that it is of independent invention, seeing that it is found nowhere else in Asia so far as my knowledge extends.

Here perhaps it may be appropriate to halt awhile to draw attention to another puzzling occurrence of discontinuous distribution. I refer to a striking peculiarity which the boats of Botel Tobago, an island at the south end of Formosa, have in common with the *mon* boats of the Solomon Islands and the fine craft of the Aru Islands on the one hand, and with the type of sea-going vessels employed by the old-time Scandinavian voyagers (Vikings and others) from the Bronze Age down to the tenth century A.D.

When the Viking boats were built, although the use of the saw for cutting planks out of forest timber was probably known, the adze was the everyday tool used for shaping all timber used in boat-building. In all these boats, whether Scandinavian, Indonesian, or Melanesian, the outstanding peculiarity is that when the planks were adzed out of a tree trunk, a variable number of lug-cleats were left upstanding at regular intervals on each plank, the cleats being subsequently perforated from side to side. When the planks required for the formation of the hull were assembled fully, care was taken to assure that the cleats on any one plank were in vertical line with the corresponding cleats on the planks in the strakes above and below. When these were finally adjusted correctly, U-shaped frames were fitted within the hull cavity formed by the assembly of the hull planks and the cleats on each run of planking were carefully lashed to the ribs of the U-frames, the lashings passing through the hole bored in each cleat and then over the rib and made fast; a caulking of moss or other material was placed between the opposed edges of adjoining planks before the lashing was made.

In the earliest known example of Viking boats, dating from about the end of the bronze age, the cleats on the basal plank, the equivalent of a keel, and of those on the garboard strake, next to it on either side, were arranged in sets of five ; on the side planks, the set number was reduced to two or three, according to their respective widths.

In Viking boats of later times, we notice a gradual reduction in the number of cleats in each set ; in the Viking boat disinterred at Nydam, dating from about A.D. 300, the number was reduced to



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TEXT-FIG. 8.—Diagrammatic series to show the gradual reduction in number and eventual suppression of rib-cleats in clinker-built boats :—
A. Als boat, *circa* 400 B.C.
B. Nydam boat, *circa* A.D. 300.
C. Viking ships of the eighth and ninth centuries.
D. Absent in present-day boats.

two in each series ; in the Gokstad ship and the later Viking ships of the eighth and ninth centuries, the cleats were arranged singly. At the present day no Scandinavian clinker-built boat shows any trace whatever of this strange cleat technique. Instead, all modern clinker-built boats have the strakes nailed directly to the frames, but, significantly enough, the frames are not pre-erected, being placed inside the hull (inserted) *after* the planking has been tentatively fitted in position.

Text-fig. 8 summarizes diagrammatically the successive stages in the gradual reduction which took place in the number of the cleats in each set, in Viking boat-construction between the Bronze Age and the present day. Stage A shows how the cleats were most numerous in the earliest of these boats—that of Als (Alsen Island)

in Denmark, in which they ranged in number between two and five according to the breadth of the planks; this vessel dates from about the end of the Bronze Age. In the fragments from Halsnö, between Bergen and Stavanger on Hardanger Fiord, dating from some time previous to the third century A.D., the number in each set is reduced to two cleats on the fragments which have survived; the same number is also characteristic of the planking of the Nydam boat (Schleswig) in use by the early Vikings about A.D. 300. Figure C shows how in the Gokstad ship, which is representative of the Viking vessels of the eighth and ninth centuries, as well as in the ships of the English navy of Alfred's time, the cleats occur singly.

To-day, as seen in Fig. D, no vestige survives of these peculiar cleat structures; they have given place to the modern system of nailing the skin planking to the rib frames.

My last slide is a reproduction of a plate which once appeared in the *Illustrated London News*; in it the artist reconstructs an incident in that great naval victory off Swanage which King Alfred's fleet gained over a mighty Danish armada. The English fleet, and the ships of the Danes, were all of the same type, approximating closely in design to that of the Gokstad ship, for Alfred had his vessels built on similar lines to those of the Danes, in order to meet the enemy on equal terms.

Before Alfred's time England lay at the mercy of any power able to command the support of a strong naval force—instance the Roman and Anglo-Saxon invasions and the Danish raiding parties.

To defeat an invader, this country has ever to be in a position to engage the enemy's forces before they are able to set foot ashore and consolidate this footing. It redounds mightily to the credit of King Alfred that comprehension of the necessity of possessing a navy able to give battle to the Danish Vikings on the element which they had long considered their own, was first recognized by him; this alone, and the lead it gave to his successors through the ages, is of itself sufficient to justify the title of "Great" which posterity has conferred upon this patriotic and far-sighted English king. The victory which crowned Alfred's decision to give battle to the Danes at sea, arrested the flowing tide of Danish conquest, and brought comparative peace to England for many years thereafter.

A mystery to which I have now to call attention is consequent

upon the fact that a complicated system of lashing the skin planking to the frames by the intermediary of cleats should occur, apparently without intermediate links, in places so widely separated as ancient Scandinavia and the islands of the Far East. The question at once arises, how is it that such an extraordinary and exceptional system of boat construction should have such discontinuous distribution ? Are we to postulate independent evolution—in Scandinavia about the end of the Bronze Age period and again, at some indeterminate date, far away in the island world lying off the south-east of Asia ?

Or, is it possible that during one of the warm and wet spells which have occurred from time to time in the world's story, subsequent to the close of the Glacial Period, when much of Siberia was a land of marsh and lake, some adventurous Scandinavian voyagers passed by these waterways eastwards to the Pacific and there introduced their lug-cleat boatbuilding technique to some of the people of the Western Pacific ? We know that the spread of the Russians to the shores and islands of the Pacific resulted in the modifying of several items in the material culture of the peoples whom they found there, particularly in respect to the boat designs of the fisherfolk and skin-hunters of Kamschatka and the Kurile Islands—for example the introduction of the two-man kayak. There seems to be no other solution ; if it was not introduced in this manner, we have to fall back upon " independent invention " ; this I consider far too unlikely in view of the peculiarly complicated nature of the technique.

Allied to this problem is that of the occurrence already mentioned of a form of clinker-built boat on the Ganges, a type wholly unrelated to any other found in India. Did this owe its introduction into India to some Scandinavian adventurer seeking fortune in the Far East ? Were we to give rein to fancy, we might picture a young and ambitious member of the Varangian Guard, baulked of the rapid promotion which he had expected at the Byzantine Court, deciding to offer his services to some Eastern potentate whose wealth and liberality may have been the subject of common gossip in the bazaars on the Bosphorus.

The two instances noted above of the isolated occurrence in the Far East—in the Asiatic Islands and on the Ganges—of boat-building technique peculiarly characteristic of Northern Europe from the Bronze Age down to the tenth century A.D., are problems of geographical distribution alike fascinating and puzzling.

Recent Malayan Excavations and some Wider Implications

By H. G. QUARITCH WALES

(PLATES XV–XVIII)

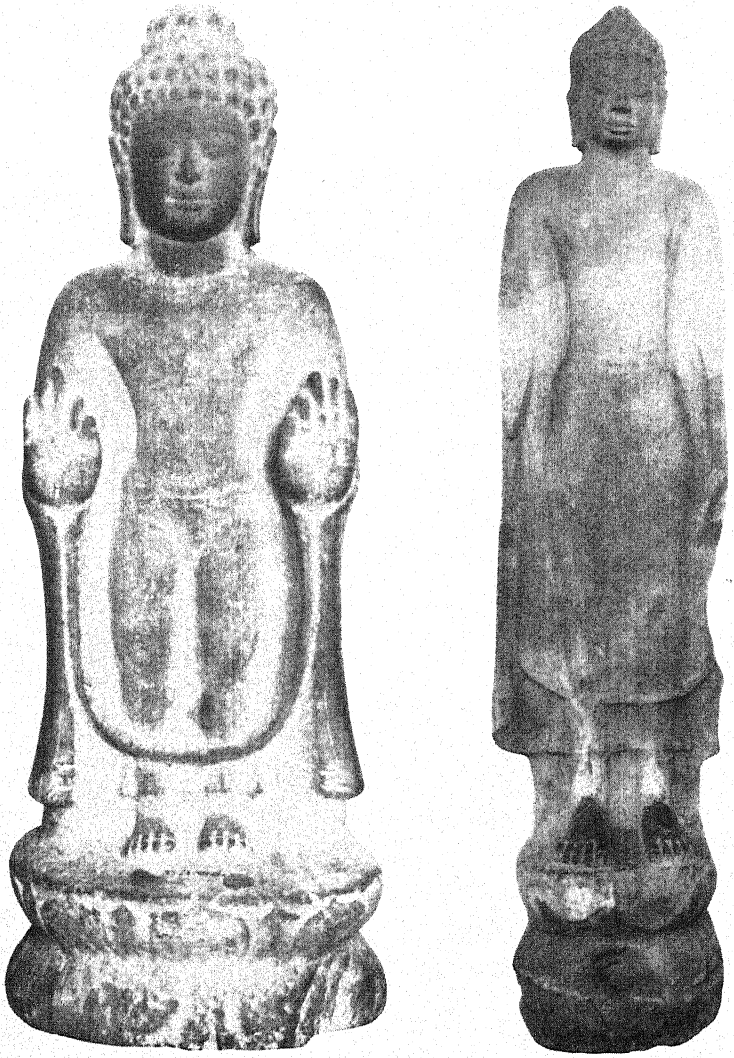
DURING 1937–38, with my wife's tireless co-operation, I archæologically explored the Malay States of Kedah, Perak, and Johore, with the primary object of obtaining data on the spread of Indian civilization in South-East Asia. The full report, including that of the systematic excavation of many sites of the "Hindu period" in Kedah, was published in *JRASMB*, vol. xviii, part 1, 1940, with 89 plates and 15 figures. Subsequently we excavated one or two other sites in Kedah and also explored Province Wellesley. The report of this supplementary work, delayed by the war, will shortly appear in *JRASMB*. The object of the present paper is to give a summary of our main Malayan results in the sphere of cultural history, as well as to point out some wider implications in conjunction with my earlier excavations in Siam, which these Malayan investigations do much to complete and illuminate.

These results enable us to form a much clearer picture than hitherto of the way in which Indian colonization established itself and the various waves of Hindu influence succeeded one another. The oldest finds indeed take us back to the very dawn of the historical period, when contact was being made with Malaya by Indian traders prior to the start of actual colonization. To this period may belong the Roman beads that were found in profusion at Kota Tinggi on the Johore River, and seem to support Berthelot's identification of this site with Ptolemy's Palanda.

Furthermore, while none of the Amarāvati style Buddha images, dating from the second or third century A.D. and found at various points in South-East Asia, whither they may have been brought by Indian traders, have come to light in Malaya, a very interesting Buddhist image showing the influence of this early school was found. This small bronze Buddha (Plate XV) was discovered by my wife at the base of a little brick building on the Bujang River, Kedah. The building may be of a later date than the image, but is situated close to other early Buddhist sites. In the Greek folds typical of the Amarāvati school, persisting in that part of the robe that is

BRONZE BUDDHA.

Height 8½ inches, Gupta period (IVth or Vth century A.D.), from Kedah, now in Raffles Museum, Singapore.



STONE BUDDHAS OF THE DVĀRAVATĪ SCHOOL.
VIIth—IXth century A.D. Bangkok Museum.

flung over the left shoulder, it represents a transition to the Gupta. But the otherwise diaphanous garment and triple curve of the body mark it definitely as a product of the Gupta period. It may be dated as of the fourth or fifth century.

Previously two Gupta bronze Buddhas had been dredged up in tin mines in Perak, I had found a very pure Gupta small stone Buddha at Wieng Sra in the Siamese portion of the Peninsula, and there were of course the fine Gupta Buddhas of Aṅkor Bŏrĕi (Cambodia). Early Buddhist inscriptions too were known from the Malayan west coast, Siam, and west Borneo. But despite these scattered finds there was virtually no evidence as to the nature of the earliest Indian settlements, the P'ong Tük and Năk'ôn Păṭhŏm (Siam) remains being mostly somewhat later.

This lacuna has now been to some extent filled by our discovering several early Buddhist *stupa* bases erected on the sites of early settlements near the mouths of rivers on the Kedah coast. Down these rivers the natives no doubt brought their products to barter with the Indian settlers. Near one unusually well preserved *stupa* base I found a small stone inscribed with the *ye dharmmā* formula in South Indian script of the fourth century A.D. In the more disintegrated base of another I brought to light a tablet inscribed with three stanzas of a Sanskrit Mahāyānist text in script that can be dated not later than the early part of the sixth century A.D. This antedates the Sumatran inscriptions, previously the earliest known evidence as to the introduction of the Mahāyāna in South-East Asia, by more than a century.

With this inscribed tablet I found a square of gold leaf. Its size tallied exactly with that of another square of gold leaf that my wife found later inside a ruined laterite *stupa* on the Guak Kepah raised beach in Province Wellesley. It seems to me very likely that it was at this spot that Colonel James Low a hundred years ago found his well-known Raktamṛttikā inscription of the sea captain Buddhagupta.

Besides the Buddhist, this Gupta wave of influence had also a Vaiṣṇava facies. This is represented by the inscriptions of King Purnavarman of West Java, but most clearly in the remains of Śi T'ep (Śrī Deva), a city in Central Siam which I explored in 1936.[1] This city has yielded two Vaiṣṇava inscriptions of the fifth or early

[1] "The Exploration of Śrī Deva" in *Indian Art and Letters*, vol. x, No. 2.

sixth century, a series of fine sculptures reminiscent of the Gupta sculptures of Bhumara, India,[1] and a brick sanctuary which I have shown to be simpler than any Primitive Khmer temple, and have compared to the Bhitargaon temple, near Cawnpore. But we cannot expect the general similarity to be borne out in matters of detail for we have to remember that Bhitargaon [2] is practically the only surviving example of the many early Gupta brick temples that must have once existed in various parts of India.

While this Gupta influence seems to hail from the Veṅgī region, between the Kistna and the Godāverī rivers, there is a partly contemporary, partly somewhat later, wave of colonization, Śaiva by religion and originating somewhat further south, in the Kanci region of south-east India, under the Pallavas. Prior to our Malayan explorations few traces of purely Pallava work were known from anywhere in Greater India and certainly nothing in the way of actual settlement.

Now in Kedah, on the Sungai Bujang, we excavated the remains of three ruined temples that may be ascribed to this wave of colonization, dating from the sixth or seventh century. They had been built partly of laterite, with superstructure of lighter material. The associated finds included *snāna-droṇīs*, a *liṅga*, reliefs of Gaṇeśa and of Durga triumphing over Mahiṣasura. These are of much earlier style than the three Pallava images engulfed by a tree on the bank of the Tăkuapa River, on the Siamese west coast, of which I partly excavated the basement of the temple from which they probably originated.[3] Most important was the find, near one of the Kedah temples, of a bronze casket lid, shaped like the roof of a Mahābālipuram *ratha*.

Not far away I discovered the plinth of another Śiva temple, constructed of well-shaped sandstone blocks. Among the debris of this, and also of a later brick Gaṇesá temple, I found nine-chambered stone receptacles which in my report I identified with those similar objects which in Javanese *chandis* often enshrine the relics of deified kings. Since then M. Cœdès has called attention[4] to the fact that where such receptacles contain only gold or gems,

[1] *MASI*, No. 16.

[2] *ASIAR*, 1908–9, pp. 5–16.

[3] *Indian Art and Letters*, vol. ix, No. 1, plate iv. Also plate 4 (left) of the present article which shows the central figure.

[4] *BEFEO*, vol. xl, 1940, p. 331, note 2.

with no trace of ash or bones, they only served to consecrate the temple site in accordance with foundation rites described in the Hindu architectural treatises. In Kedah, as indeed is frequent elsewhere, the receptacles were not found *in situ* and had been deprived of all contents. So it would appear that the question must be left open.

In the eighth and ninth centuries a new and powerful wave of Mahāyānist influence swept over South-East Asia, but it is again almost only in the Malay Peninsula that we find well-marked traces of this Indian culture in virtually unmodified form. Beneath one ruined brick sanctuary in Kedah I found clear evidence of Mahāyānism of this period in the shape of a number of silver discs each inscribed in South Indian script with the name of a Bodhisattva. In jars buried beneath somewhat similar shrines I found a variety of glass beads, Chinese porcelain fragments of the T'ang period, and two Abbasid Caliphate coins dated the equivalent of A.D. 848. At floor level in larger structures, which had been built mainly of timber and may have been palace halls, a bronze dagger hilt of quite Indian design and two fragmentary T'ang mirrors were found.

Sealed up in the laterite plinth of a small temple of mainly light construction we found a bronze casket containing a number of gems and a remarkable series of miniature silver weapons. With them also were a gold lion, silver bull, copper horse, and a corroded iron mass which had presumably represented an elephant. Since these faced the cardinal points, N., W., S., and E. respectively (the casket hinges having been oriented N.–S.), I now recognize them to be the animals of the quarters, known from early times in India, and represented, facing the same points, on the guardstones of the Anurādhapura monasteries.[1]

In Kedah, only fragments of bronze images were recovered (on the floor of the shrine last mentioned), but in Perak several bronze Bodhisattvas of *circa* ninth century, and of Indian style and features, have been dredged up from time to time in tin mines.

It is in the Siamese portion of the Peninsula, especially at C'āiya, that fine bronze Bodhisattvas have come to light which show pronounced Pāla character. At least, such is the view I share with

[1] See *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section G, vol. ii, pt. i, p. 13. Bronze miniatures of the animals of the quarters were found in the corner cavities of a reliquary at Pabalu Dagaba, Pollonaruwa (*ARASC*, 1938, plate 4).

most observers, notwithstanding the contrary opinion of Bernet Kempers.[1] At C'ăiya too there still survive cruciform brick temples of a more definite style, unlike the semi-perishable indeterminate structures of Malaya. These C'ăiya temples may be compared, at least as regards plan, with the Pāla temple of Paharpur [2] in Bengal, for here again we must not push the comparison to matters of detail, since close affinity with the only surviving temple in India in any respect comparable is hardly to be expected. A contemporary shrine also stylistically akin to the presumed Indian prototype is the Bebe Pagoda at Old Prome, Burma.

We may now consider how these successive waves of Indian influence came to play their part in building the classic civilizations of South-East Asia, the Khmer, the Indo-Javanese, and the Cham. It will help us to understand what probably happened if we consider South-East Asia as being divided into a western and eastern zone by an imaginary line passing roughly through eastern Siam and west Java. In the western zone, including Burma, central Siam, the Malay Peninsula, and Sumatra the full impact of Indian influence was felt. There was probably intensive and long continued colonization either by Indians or, in the case of Central Siam, by Indianized Mons from Burma. Whatever the political situation, Indian culture seems to have been imposed upon the natives who were probably, except in South Sumatra, in a backward state of civilization.

In the eastern zone, however, the Indian influence, now further from its base, came up against peoples often possessed of a fairly advanced civilization of their own. Where this was not the case, as in Borneo, the early Indian settlements seem soon to have languished owing to unfavourable environment and poor communications with their source of inspiration. Where the people were already by no means uncivilized, as in central Java, native kings seem often to have retained their independence, for the inscriptions mention many native titles of officials and the social status of women was much higher than in India. Nor were they swamped by Indian culture but borrowed as and when they thought fit from the ideas introduced by Hindu traders and missionaries. In Fu-nan, although Indian colonization appears at first to have

[1] *The Bronzes of Nalanda*, 1933, p. 74. [2] *MASI*, No. 55.

"Man and Horse,"
5th century A.D., from Śi T'ep, now in Bangkok Museum.

Viṣṇu
Dvāravatī period. *Circa* 9th century A.D. At U T'ông.

STONE VIṢṆU.

Pallava. Probably VIIIth century A.D.
Tăkuapa.

STONE VIṢṆU.

Presumably a native copy of a Pallava model. From Wieng Sra, now in Bangkok Museum.

become firmly established, a strong native growth representing a fusion of ideas soon emerged, a process paralleled in the political sphere by the rise of the Primitive Khmer (Pre-Khmer) state of Chen-la about A.D. 550.

On the other hand, as I have suggested, in the western zone there seems to have been a much greater measure of acculturation. As each wave of Indian influence was received and waned, we find an effort on the part of the Indian dominated population to imitate its products, at first more or less successfully, then a lapse into decadence. Compare the Gupta Buddha of Plate I with Indianesque products of the Dvāravatī kingdom of Central Siam, datable seventh to ninth century A.D. (Plate XVI). The latter have lost all suppleness, are stiff and wooden in fact, and the features show the negroid strain in the Austroasiatic peoples. Static correctness is passing into decadence. Compare again a Viṣṇu from Śi T'ep [1] with what is really a stylized survival of the Gupta wave (though often erroneously attributed to the artistically and geographically distant Primitive Khmers)—the seventh or eighth century P'rā No' Viṣṇu of Tăkuapa.[2] Or another Śi T'ep figure [3] with the seventh century Bangka island head,[4] so alike in aureole, headdress, and band, yet with Mongolian features and inferior workmanship replacing the purely Indian. Or again, the " man and horse " I found at Śi T'ep, the Gupta *hanchement* and graceful, lightly indicated garment still evident despite weathering (Plate XVII, left), with the hitherto unpublished Viṣṇu figure I photographed at U T'ông (Plate XVII, right) which I think may be regarded as another variant of surviving Gupta influence with formalized and exaggerated yet unevolved dress and ornament and dating from *circa* ninth century.[5] Most striking of all, compare the central figure of the Tăkuapa trio, which may now I think be identified as Viṣṇu (Plate XVIII, left), and which is purely Pallava, with the stone Viṣṇu from Wieng Sra (Plate XVIII, right), so alike in ornament and position of the arms, so different in the latter's Mongolian features, its rigidity, its poor modelling which mark it out as a static native copy.

[1] *Mélanges Linossier*, plate x.
[2] *Indian Art and Letters*, vol. ix, No. 1, plate ii.
[3] *Indian Art and Letters*, vol. x, No. 2, plate iii.
[4] *Indian Art and Letters*, vol. xi, No. 2, plate i.
[5] Sketches of similar figures in high relief at Suphan were made by Lajonquière (*BCAI*, 1909, figs. 19 and 20.)

Similarly one could point to Brahmanic images, Indian in inspiration, though often nothing more than lifeless imitations, from various sites in predominantly Buddhist Burma.[1] And as late as the twelfth century (the contemporaries of Angkor Wat) little unevolved brick South Indian sanctuaries, such as I have studied at Ligor[2] and have discovered and excavated in Kedah,[3] were still being constructed by Indianized communities in the Malay Peninsula.

In my detailed report I stressed the absence in Malaya prior to the Majapahit period of Javanese and Sumatran influence. With regard to the latter, I should have said more precisely Sumatran influence as modified by the spread of Javanese civilization (as seen in the tenth century remains at Jambi and Lematang Hilir),[4] for Sumatra seems to have been primarily a very Indianized region. Even late Sumatran architecture at Muara Takus and Padang Lawas[5] remained basically Indian in conception with very restrained decoration. In Central Siam, too, it is not until about A.D. 1000 that the but little changed Indian civilization of the Dvāravatī kingdom was obscured by the spread of Khmer domination. It is also in keeping with what one might expect in this western zone that, long after the active Indian colonizing period was at an end, late Indian influence made itself felt much more strongly than in Cambodia and Java, where national cultural sentiment had long been in the ascendancy. Thus in north Sumatra we have much late South Indian influence among the Bataks and a Tamil inscription dated A.D. 1088. In Burma the Ananda and other Pagan temples of late Pāla style may be ascribed largely to the influence of Indian Buddhist monks scattered after the decay of Nālandā, though reflecting Chinese and other contemporary influences as well.

In what I have called the eastern zone the impress of the latest (largely Pāla inspired) wave is evident enough in cubic Cham architecture and the Buddhist temples of Central Java. But it would be a matter of extreme difficulty to trace in detail the effects of each

[1] For examples, see illustrations in Nihar-Ranjan Ray's *Brahmanical Gods in Burma*, Calcutta, 1932.

[2] *Indian Art and Letters*, vol. ix, No. 1, plates vii and viii.

[3] *JRASMB*, vol. xviii, part 1, plates 69 and 70.

[4] Krom, *Inleiding*, vol. 2, page 425.

[5] F. M. Schnitger, *Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra*, 1937, especially plates xvii, xxxi, and xxxii.

wave of Indian influence, especially as by the seventh or eighth century temples and sculptures are already so distinctively Primitive Khmer, Cham, or Indo-Javanese. It is indeed a remarkable fact that no Indian antiquities datable later than the early part of the sixth century have come to light in Java, Cambodia, or Champa. It may well be then, that following the period of early Gupta colonization, no purely Indian temples or sculptures, of Pallava or Pāla style, ever took actual form on the distant soil of Java and Indochina. They only appeared there as modified and interpreted at the hands of the by no means barbarous native craftsmen who borrowed some motifs from the Indian culture-bearers and rejected others, on lines probably determined by the character of their pre-existing civilizations. Meanwhile evolution began to enhance local divergences.

Before I had discovered Pallava temples in Malaya, and consequently recognized the cruciform temples of C'ăiya as probably Pāla products, I was impelled to account for the latter by postulating some degree of evolution in the Malay Peninsula itself. A fuller study of the material now known, as instanced by the comparisons I have made in this paper, has convinced me that there was little inventiveness and consequently no such evolution in the western zone. There was only a striving to reproduce Indian models as faithfully as might be. The primary importance of the remains brought to light by my explorations in Malaya and Siam is that, whether Indian or Indianesque, they provide valuable documentary evidence (where so little in India has survived) as to the nature and sequence of the Indian concepts that inspired the great builders of Indochina and Java.

Portuguese and Spanish Rivalry in the Far East during the 17th Century

By C. R. BOXER

"*QUANTA sea la aversion entre Portuguéses, y Castellânos, es cósa tan sabída, que no necessita testimónios,*" wrote the Spanish Friar, Juan Francisco de San Antonio, O.F.M., in his *Chronicas* of the Franciscan Order in the Philippines, China, and Japan, printed at the Convent of Our Lady of Loreto, at Sampaloc, a suburb of Manila, in 1738–41 (vol. ii, book i, ch. xv, page 81). Although, like most ex-cathedra pronouncements, this sweeping statement does not hold good for all times and places, it was undoubtedly correct for the region and century with which this essay is primarily concerned.

The rivalry between the two Peninsular peoples in the Far East dates back to the discovery of the Moluccas and Magellan's famous voyage of circumnavigation ; but the dispute over the Papal award of Alexander VIth ; the Treaties of Tordesillas and Saragossa (1494–1529) and the Portuguese expulsion of the Spaniards from the Spice Islands, are matters of common knowledge and have been dealt with at length by Armando Cortesão, Visconde de Lagoa, and other scholars in recent years. Similarly, the foundation of Portuguese Macao and Spanish Manila ; the unsuccessful voyages of the Spanish Franciscan and Augustinian Friars to China and Macao in the last quarter of the sixteenth century ; the uneasy partnership resulting from the union of the two Iberian Crowns under Philip II (I of Portugal) in 1580 ; and the commercial and religious jealousy between Portuguese and Spaniards in Japan at this period, have all been dealt with by competent historians in reasonably accessible works.[1]

One of the conditions of the Cortes of Thomar, which legalized Philip's forcible acquisition of the Portuguese throne in 1580, was

[1] Cf. A. P. Van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. ii (Quarachi-Firenze, 1933) ; any of the numerous editions of Gonzales de Mendoca's *Historia de las cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del Gran Reyno de la China* ; Colin-Pastells, *Labor Evangelica* (3 vols., Barcelona, 1904) ; P. Henri Bernard, S. J., *Les Iles philippines du grand archipel de la Chine. Un essai de Conquete spirituelle de l'Extreme-Orient.* (Tientsin, 1936.) Ch. iv, *La Reaction Portugaise aux entreprises Espagnoles* ; P. Manuel Teixeira, *Macau e a sua Diocese*, vol. ii, pp. 122–141. (Macau, 1940.)

that the colonial dominions of the two crowns should remain separate as hitherto, and that all trade and navigation between them should be strictly prohibited. So far as Macao and Manila were concerned this prohibition was a dead-letter from the start, and the attempts made by the colonial authorities to enforce it were both spasmodic and ineffectual. Occasional efforts were made, however, and one of the earliest was in the case of Dom João da Gama—a curious affair which deserves a more detailed study than is possible here. Briefly, Dom João da Gama, after serving a tour of duty as Captain of Malacca, sailed via Macao for Mexico across the Pacific in 1589, in defiance of the colonial navigation laws, and in the first recorded Portuguese ship to do so. The Jesuit Father Luis Frois records his arrival at the island of Amakusa in Kyushu, into which Japanese port he had been forced by a typhoon, and whence he sailed for Acapulco in October after repairs had been effected. Although his ship reached Mexico in safety, he was arrested by the local authorities for violating the inter-colonial trade edicts, and sent as a prisoner to Spain, whither the confiscated cargo of his ship was likewise remitted. He seems to have died soon after, but a lengthy lawsuit ensued over the confiscated goods, for which his heirs claimed (and apparently eventually received) compensation in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Although this is the first recorded voyage of a Portuguese ship across the Pacific, the Spanish captain, Francisco Galli, had previously voyaged from Macao to Acapulco in 1584, but apparently with the permission of the Spanish Government. It was on his voyage across the Pacific in 1589–90 that Dom João da Gama sighted that *Gama-land* which proved such a puzzle to seventeenth and eighteenth century cartographers, but was probably one of the Kuriles.[1]

Trade between Macao and Manila continued to flourish despite the official ban which the Iberian Court renewed periodically—and vainly—when its attention was drawn to the matter by the authorities in Goa and Mexico. This was largely due to the fact that

[1] Allusions to the voyage of Dom João da Gama are to be found in Luis Frois, S.J., *Carta Anua de 1589*; *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, vol. iii, pp. 169–276; Colin-Pastells, *Labor Evangelica*, vol. ii, pp. 202–4; and Del Valle and Pastells, *Catalogo de Los Documentos relativos a las islas Filipinas en el Archivo de Sevilla*. (Barcelona, 1928–36; *passim*.) The best discussion of the voyages of Francisco Galli across the Pacific is by J. C. M. Warnsinck (whose untimely death in 1944 was such a loss to students of Naval and Colonial History) in the masterly introduction to his Linschoten Society edition of the *Itinerario*. (Hague, 1939.)

Spanish efforts to supplant Macao by founding a trading settlement of their own on the Chinese mainland were thwarted by the Portuguese, whether diplomatically or otherwise. The attempt that came nearest to success was that of Don Juan Zamudio (Çamudio) who succeeded in forming a temporary base at a place called *Pinhal*, in the winter of 1598, with the connivance or permission of the authorities at Canton. The location of this site is a matter of dispute amongst scholars, but J. M. Braga's suggestion of the anchorage of Tonkawan at Kumsing-mun, on the east coast of the island of Heungshan (Chungshan), has much to commend it, as this is the only place between the Bocca Tigris and Macao where a grove of pine trees has flourished for many years, and it was also used an an anchorage by the English and American clippers over a century ago. The latest writer on the subject, the French diplomat Albert Kammerer, makes out a fairly good case for placing it on one of the branches of the Sikiang or West river, N.W. of Macao ; but he does not realize that *Pinhal* is the Iberian word for "pine wood" which was frequently used by Portuguese and Spaniards as a place-name, and it is unlikely that the Cantonese officials would have allowed the formation of a Spanish settlement so far inland as to form a potential threat to Canton. In any case, the location of the site is of academic interest only, since the Spaniards were forcibly expelled from it by an expedition headed by the Captain-Major of Macao, Dom Paulo de Portugal, in the year 1599, acting on instructions from the Viceroy of Goa.[1]

The dawn of the seventeenth century brought a new and greater peril to both Portuguese and Spanish influence in the Far East, in the shape of the arrival of the Dutch in the China Seas. These formidable competitors caused the quarrelling Iberian partners to unite their efforts occasionally, although not for long. The first reaction came from the Portuguese during the expedition of André Furtado de Mendoça to the Moluccas in 1601–3, which although successful in temporarily reconquering Amboina, failed to retake the strategic island of Ternate, despite reinforcements sent from Manila under the Spanish captain Juan Gallinato, to whose loyal

[1] The Spanish side of the Pinhal expedition is given at length in the reports of Hernando de los Rios Coronel (this last being a surname and not a military rank as Kammerer erroneously surmises) and Dr. Antonio de Morga, in the latter's classical *Sucessos de las Islas Filipinas*, of which the best edition is that by W. E. Retaña (Madrid, 1910). The Portuguese version is given briefly by Diogo do Couto, *Decada XII*, Book ii, ch. xi.

and effective co-operation André Furtado bore witness in the most emphatic terms. The ill-success of this expedition led to the loss of both Amboina and Tidore (the two surviving Portuguese strongholds in the Moluccas) to the Hollanders shortly after Furtado had returned to Malacca. Amboina was surrendered in the most cowardly fashion by its captain; but the garrison of Tidore, which had already beaten off a previous Dutch attack a few years earlier, put up a stout fight which only ended unsuccessfully when an accidental explosion wrecked the powder magazine and fort. The survivors were shipped off to Manila, where they arrived in time to participate in the expedition organized by the Governor Don Pedro de Acunha, which recaptured Ternate and Tidore in a brilliantly successful attack in April, 1606. A Portuguese contingent sent by André Furtado greatly distinguished itself in this campaign, and on its conclusion returned to Malacca, where it proved a welcome reinforcement to the hard-pressed garrison then beseiged by the combined forces of the Dutch Admiral Cornelis Maatelieff de Jonge and the Malay Sultan of Johore. But Luso-Spanish co-operation, which for a couple of years had proved both close and cordial, did not long remain so, despite the fact that the menace of the heretic Hollanders was increased by their forming bases at Bantam in Java (1596), Hirado in Japan (1609), and on part of the island of Ternate (1607), which formed a triangular threat to the profitable Macao-Manila trade and to the still more lucrative Macao-Nagasaki commerce.[1]

In April, 1610, the Portuguese Viceroy of India, Rui Lourenço de Tavora, an old and experienced soldier, sent a well-found fleet of six galleons, a pinnace, and two galliots, from Goa to Macao, with orders not only to convoy the valuable Japan and China trade, but to co-operate with the Spaniards in Manila to expel the Dutch from the Spice Islands once and for all. Despite the categorical nature of his instructions and the fact that Don Juan de Silva, the Governor of the Philippines, repeatedly asked him for his co-operation, the Portuguese commander, Dom Diogo de Vasconcellos, flatly refused to leave Macao for Philippine waters, although frequently urged to do so by the local officials. Not only so, but this officer's harsh

[1] For the see-saw Molucca campaigns of 1601–6, cf. W. E. Retaña's edition of Morga's *Sucessos de las islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1910); Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas* (Madrid, 1609); Colin-Pastells, *Labor Evangelica*, vol. iii (Barcelona, 1934); and *Coleccion de documentos ineditos para la historia de Espana*, vol. lii (Madrid).

and arrogant demeanour was the cause of numerous broils between the men of his squadron and the local inhabitants, to say nothing of acrimonious disputes with the Chinese authorities over his refusal to pay the ships' dues, on the grounds that they were royal naval vessels and as such exempt from the payments exacted from merchantmen. Whether his behaviour was due to cowardice, mistaken pride, mere incompetence, or to a mixture of all three, it is difficult to say; but he crowned his achievements by losing four of his richly-laden fleet off the coast of Malabar on his return voyage in 1611–12. Despite the Viceroy's justifiable annoyance and the complaints of the Governor of the Philippines, no action was taken against Dom Diogo, who returned to Portugal in 1615 in the flagship *Nossa Senhora da Luz*, being one of the few survivors when this carrack was wrecked off Fayal in the Azores with great loss of life.[1]

Rui Lourenço de Tavora's successor as Viceroy of India, Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo, was even less fortunate in his efforts to help Don Juan de Silva, since although he dispatched a squadron of four galleons to co-operate with the Spanish Governor in a final effort to retake the Moluccas, this force was intercepted off Malacca in December, 1615, by the Dutch admiral Steven Van der Haeghen (the conqueror of Amboina in 1605) and completely destroyed, having previously lost one vessel in a terrific encounter with an Achinese Fleet under Sultan Iskandar Muda. This action took place a few days before the arrival of Don Juan de Silva with a powerful Armada (carrying detachments of Japanese and Filipino as well as Spanish troops) in the straits of Johore—whence he proceeded to Malacca on hearing the news of the destruction of the Portuguese squadron, and where he died a few weeks later of dysentery. After his death, the Spanish Armada returned to Manila without attempting to attack Bantam or the Moluccas; and Luso-Hispanic co-operation in this part of the world virtually came to an end, save for the dispatch of a squadron of Portuguese galliots under Gonçalo Roiz de Sousa from Goa to Ternate in 1614–15, where they brought a welcome reinforcement to the Spanish Governor Don Jeronimo de Silva. But by this time the Spice Islands were already a backwater as far as the Iberian government was concerned, and although the Spaniards retained a precarious

[1] C. R. Boxer, *Subsidios para a historia dos Capitães Gerais e Governadores de Macau* (1557–1770), pp. 20–21, and sources there quoted (Macau, 1944).

foothold on Ternate and Tidore down to 1662, they never assumed the offensive on any scale after the miscarriage of Don Juan de Silva's expedition in 1615, and the Spice trade remained a virtual monopoly of the Dutch.[1]

Although military and naval co-operation between Macao and Malacca on the one hand and Manila and the Moluccas on the other, either miscarried or was reduced to insignificant dimensions, trade between Macao and Manila continued to flourish unabated, all orders and prohibitions to the contrary notwithstanding. A curious sidelight on this state of affairs is thrown by the correspondence of the King of Spain and Portugal with the Viceroy of India, concerning the complaints lodged against the Dominican Friar João Pinto da Piedade, who was Bishop of China in Macao in the years 1610–13. Unlike the majority of his countrymen, Frei João da Piedade was frankly and unashamedly pro-Spanish, which predilection, although it did him no harm with the King, was the cause of a lot of trouble in Macao, which city he seems to have neglected on occasion for Manila. In a royal letter of the 2nd March, 1614, to the Viceroy of India, it is alleged that the bellicose Bishop had "fulminated censures" against the municipal magistrate, Manuel Luis Coelho, when this functionary arrested two men for trading to Manila. The embattled prelate soon passed from words to deeds, and not content with trying to arrest both the magistrate and the captain of the city with a party of his friars armed to the teeth, what time the church bells sounded a tocsin, he broke into the jail at the head of his representatives of the Church Militant and rescued the two imprisoned smugglers. It is further alleged in the same document that he openly urged the populace to trade to Mexico, in defiance of the royal orders, and took the magistrate to task for prohibiting the export of kidnapped Chinese boys and girls from Canton (the *muitsai*) to Manila, on the grounds that this prohibition, if enforced, would prevent their being baptized as Christians. Even allowing for some exaggeration in this version of events, which was obviously inspired by his opponents (amongst whom were the local Jesuits), it is not surprising that the King directed that he should not return to Macao. Frei João Pinto da Piedade went home to Portugal in 1615; but his renunciation of the Bishopric of China only became effective eleven years later. Despite his stormy career in the Far

[1] Antonio Bocarro, *Decada XIII* (Lisbon, 1876); *Coleccion de doc. ined. para la hist. de España*, vol. lii.

East he lived to a ripe old age, dying at his birthplace of Abrantes in 1628 at the age of seventy.[1]

As both Manila and Macao lay at the extreme end of the dual Iberian Empire, the problem of reinforcing and supplying them provided a constant headache for the authorities at Lisbon and Madrid. The Philippines were governed at one remove from Mexico, and Macao from Goa, via Malacca; but the voyage across the Pacific was a particularly tedious one, whether taken via the stormy and poorly-charted Straits of Magellan, or from Acapulco after a strenuous overland journey across a difficult and unhealthy section of Mexico. The route via the Cape of Good Hope, although in forbidden Portuguese waters throughout, seemed to offer a more satisfactory alternative in some ways, and from time to time suggestions were made to this effect. During the years when the active Don Diego Brochero was reforming the Spanish Navy, these suggestions were given a trial, and in 1613 a specially constituted squadron was sent to the Philippines via the Cape of Good Hope. It was a composite affair, the commanding officer, Rui Gonçalez de Siqueira (a former Governor of Tidore in 1599–1603), the ship's officers, pilots, and sailors being Portuguese, whilst the troops carried were Spaniards. The fleet consisted of seven Portuguese caravels, bought in Lisbon, but manned and fitted out at Cadiz, whence the expedition sailed on the 14th April, 1613, carrying 300 soldiers and 224 seamen.

The voyage did not come up to expectations. The caravels were almost immediately forced to put into Lisbon by a storm, and when they finally got away a month later, it was already very late in the season. Despite the fact that Siqueira's orders specifically enjoined him to take particular care to maintain harmonious relations between Spaniards and Portuguese on board, quarrels soon broke out, he himself becoming involved in a violent dispute off the Cape Verde Islands with his second-in-command, the Castillian, Hernando Munoz de Arrambu. This latter and two other caravels failed to round the Cape of Good Hope and had to put back to Brazil and Angola. Siqueira was more successful and eventually reached Manila (after calling at Malacca) in August, 1614, with crews and ships in a lamentable condition according to Don Juan de Silva, whilst Munoz straggled in ten months later. The Arch-

[1] Padre Manuel Teixeira, *Macau e a sua Diocese*, vol. ii. *Bispos e Governadores do Bispado de Macau* (Macau, 1940). pp. 89–94.

bishop of Manila, Don Diego Vasquez de Mercado, in a letter dated 8th November, 1614, complained bitterly to King Philip of the bad treatment given by Siqueira to his Spanish subordinates; but this allegation did not prevent the Governor, Don Juan de Silva, showing great favour to the Portuguese commander at first, although later they quarrelled. After taking part in the defeat of the Dutch squadron under Jan Dirckszoon Lam by Don Juan Ronquillo at the Playa Honda in 1617, Siqueira and his son, Goncalo de Siqueira de Souza, set out for Mexico in two of their caravels; but being forced back by contrary winds proceeded to Portuguese India instead. The father died at Cochin, but Goncalo de Siqueira and some of his companions eventually returned to Portugal—apparently in company with the Franciscan friar Hernando de Moraga, by the overland route through Persia, Syria, and Cyprus, reaching Madrid early in 1619.[1]

Although this expedition had not gone according to plan, Don Diego Brochero evidently felt that it was sufficiently successful to be repeated, for a smaller squadron of caravels was sent from Spain via the Cape of Good Hope in 1617. These took nearly two years on the voyage; whilst a really powerful armada of galleons and warships fitted out in 1619, at the instance of Hernando de Moraga, was totally wrecked with great loss of life on the Moroccan and Andalusian coasts a few days after leaving Cadiz in January, 1620. This put an end to all further attempts to succour the Philippines by way of the Cape of Good Hope.

Despite perennial troubles with the Chinese and Japanese, to say nothing of the ever-present menace of the Dutch during this period, both Macao and Manila steadily continued to increase in prosperity and population. But although the China and Japan trades from which they derived their main profits provided a more than sufficient market for all comers, the monopolistic mercantile theories of the day rendered mutual jealousy between Spaniards and Portuguese inevitable, as was likewise the case between their heretic Dutch and English competitors. Even the *odium theologicum* was not absent between coreligionists, for the Dominicans and Franciscans of Manila regarded the Jesuits of Macao with about as much

[1] For this expedition cf. documents printed in Del Valle & Pastells *Catalogo de los Documentos*, op. cit., vols. v, vi, and vii, *passim*. Antonio Bocarro, *Decada XIII*, pp. 291–3 and 298. Goncalo de Siqueira de Souza was later the first properly accredited European Ambassador to Japan, whither he was sent by King John IV of Portugal in 1647, although the Japanese refused to allow him to land at Nagasaki.

brotherly love as was lost between the Calvinistic Dutch and the Episcopalian English. In May, 1619, Frey Diego de Aduarte, O.P., one of the leading Dominicans in the Philippines, wrote a report to the King, strongly advocating the destruction of Macao, and the forcible removal of its Christian and halfcaste population to Malacca or elsewhere. An identical proposal was made by Hernando de Los Rios Coronel in his celebrated *Memorial y Relacion para S.M. del Procurador General de las Filipinas, de lo que conuiene remediar, y de la riqueza que ay en ellas, y en las Islas de Maluco* (Madrid, Viuva de Fernando Correa, Ano 1621).[1]

King Philip ignored these representations, as well he might, since Macao was not only one of the few remaining profitable possessions of the Portuguese in Asia, but its retention in Lusitanian hands was the principal obstacle to the Hollanders achieving Jan Pieterszoon Coen's dream of a Dutch monopoly of the Japanese and Chinese overseas trade ; which monopoly, as the grim Calvinist foresaw, would have made Holland the arbiter of the maritime commerce of Asia. Despite Manila's prosperity, derived chiefly from its trade with China and Macao, the Philippines as a whole were a serious burden to the Spanish Crown just then, and Los Rios Coronel therefore suggested alternatively that the archipelago might be exchanged with the Crown of Portugal for Brazil, but this suggestion was obviously impracticable and came to nothing. The Dutch attack on Macao in June, 1622, unsuccessful as it was, seriously alarmed the Spaniards at Manila, who, despite the views of Aduarte and Coronel, fully realized the danger that would ensue if they allowed the Hollanders to establish themselves on the Chinese mainland. They therefore made no difficulty about sending men and munitions to the help of the Portuguese in Macao, when these asked for assistance in expectation of a renewal of the attack. These reinforcements were commanded by the Sergeant-Major of the Manila garrison, Don Fernando de Silva, who was well received by the citizens and " por su agradable modo fue bien estimado ", albeit the Macaonese had reason to change their views later.

On the arrival of Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, the first Captain-

[1] English translations of the memorials of Diego Aduarte, O.P., and Hernando de Los Rios Coronel are given in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, vol. xviii, pp. 194–203, and vol. xix, pp. 183–297. Cf. also the celebrated *Memorial* of Grau y Monfalcon dated 1640, reprinted by Alvarez de Abreu (Madrid, 1736), and in English translation in vol. xxx of Blair and Robertson, op. cit.

General (as distinct from Captain-Major) of Macao, who assumed his post in July, 1623, the services of Don Fernando de Silva and his Spaniards were no longer required and they left Macao in the Spanish galleons *San Ildefonso* and *Nuestra Señora de Peña de França*, in 1624. The ships went on a buccaneering cruise in the South China Sea and Gulf of Siam, in the course of which they took a Japanese junk in the river Menam after a bloody fight. When the news of this affray eventually filtered through to Japan, the Tokugawa government was exceedingly angry and laid an embargo on the Portuguese trade at Nagasaki until the culprits should be given up. This led to much ill-feeling between Macao and Manila, since the Spaniards had no desire to placate the Japanese authorities (with whom relations had been severed in 1624) whilst the Macaonese were particularly hard hit by the embargo on their Nagasaki trade, as it coincided with a ban on the Dutch commerce at Hirado (resulting from the Pieter Nuyts incident in Formosa in 1628) of which they would otherwise have been able to take full advantage. The embargo remained in force for nearly three years, and was only lifted after the arrival of Dom Gonçalo de Silveira as a special envoy in 1630.[1]

The story of Portuguese and Spanish rivalry in the Far East for the decade 1630–40 can be studied in detail from the sources mentioned hereunder, although most of them are not readily available in this country, which is my chief excuse for writing this essay.

(*a*) *Arquivos de Macau.*—Three volumes published at Macao in the years 1929–30. A reprint was begun in 1941. The seventeenth century documents printed therein are not the originals (which no longer exist in the Senate Archives) but copies made in the late eighteenth and early ninteenth centuries. Fortunately they are especially numerous for the years 1630–46, although there are many gaps before and afterwards. These volumes are well printed and accurate copies of the eighteenth–nineteenth century transcripts.

(*b*) *Livros dos Monções ou Documentos Remettidos da India. Livros* 33–8 (Arquivo da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon). The principal documents relating to the Macao-Nagasaki trade, with frequent sidelights on the Macao-Manila commerce were published by the

[1] C. R. Boxer, "Portuguese Commercial Voyages to Japan 300 years ago, 1630–39," in *Trans. Japan Society, London*, vol. xxxi, pp. 27–77 (London, 1934), and "Um Memorial da Cidade de Macau ha 300 anos 1631–35", in *Boletim Eclesiastico de Macau*, vol. xxxv, pp. 29–43 (Macau, 1937).

writer on pp. 17–73 of his essay *As Viagens de Japão e os seus Capitães-Mores (1550–1640)*, printed at the Salesian Press in Macao 1940. An English summary of the most important documents was printed in the *Transactions of the Japan Society of London*, vol. xxxi, pp. 27–77 (London, 1934).

(*c*) *Azia Sinica e Japonica. Obra posthuma e inédita do Frade Arrabido José de Jesus Maria.* The manuscript of this work was written at Macao in the years 1744–5, but it remained unpublished until the noted Portuguese orientalist José Feliciano Marques Pereira printed the first 83 pages, with valuable notes and comments, in his Lisbon periodical *Ta-Ssi yang kuo*, which came to an untimely end with the editor's demise in 1905. The manuscript then disappeared until the present writer purchased it in 1939, and began printing an annotated edition of the complete work in Macao, of which the first 155 pages (less than half the total of xvi–352 pages) had been printed off by the Salesian Press when the events of 8th December, 1941, put an at any rate temporary stop to its publication. This work is particularly interesting for the period under review, since it contains *inter alia* several very important documents of the years 1638–43, which were transcribed from the originals in the Senate Archives by Frei José de Jesus Maria in 1744-5, and which have long since disappeared and thus were not utilized by Ljungstedt, Montalto de Jesus, or by the editors of the *Arquivos de Macau.*

Emphasis has been laid on these Portuguese works, partly because they have been published in obscure places or periodicals and have therefore escaped the notice of scholars; but mainly because the Spanish sources are so full and accessible that students inevitably have tended to use them to the exclusion of the Portuguese. This list is not, of course, exhaustive, but it will serve as a guide to those wishing to pursue the subject further.[1]

The cause of the trouble and the interplay of conflicting forces is not far to seek. On the one hand (making for unity and co-operation) were the constant menace of the Dutch; the potential danger of attack by Japan (which although it never eventuated was very

[1] Other Portuguese sources include Antonio Bocarro, *Livro do Estado da India Oriental* (MS. of 1635); *Diario do 3º Conde de Linhares Visorei da India* (Lisbon, 1933); the relevant portions of the former being reproduced in C. R. Boxer, *Macau na epoca da Restauração* (*Macau 300 years ago*), printed in Portuguese and English at the Imprensa Nacional, Macao, 1942. For the Spanish sources (Colin-Pastells; Blair and Robertson, etc.), cf. notes 1 and 2 *supra.*

real and was seriously considered by the *Rōjū* or Tokugawa Cabinet on more than one occasion in the years 1635–40); mutual dependence on the silks and fabrics of the China trade; the crusading call of the Roman Catholic Church against the common heretic and infidel enemies; a dual Monarchy under one king, with both Spanish and Portuguese blood in his veins; and repeated orders from the Court of Madrid for effective military and naval co-operation between Macao and Manila against the Dutch in Formosa, the Moluccas, and the China Sea.

On the other hand (making for discord and strife) were the traditional jealousy and dislike between the two Iberian peoples, comparable to that obtaining between England and Scotland for several centuries. The rivalry (to use no stronger term) between Portuguese Jesuits in China, Japan, and Macao, and the Franciscan and Dominican Friars in the Philippines, of which more anon; the desire of the Spanish (Seville) silk merchants to protect their home and American markets against Chinese silks imported via Manila from Macao; the mutual greed of Macao and Manila to exclude each other from the lucrative China trade with Canton and Fukien; and the repeated (if futile) orders expressly forbidding trade and commerce between the Asiatic dominions of the dual Iberian Monarchy.

Other causes tending to promote either friction or co-operation between Macao and Manila could easily be adduced, but the foregoing are quite sufficient to show that pros and cons were fairly well counter-balanced—although the sequence of events would seem to indicate that on the whole the forces favouring co-operation exerted a stronger pull in the long run than the very real difficulties and obstacles which brought about such frequent friction. A brief résumé of the relevant facts will serve to prove this point.

The prohibition of trade and commerce between the Asiatic dominions of the Crowns of Spain and Portugal was extended to cover the movement of priests, friars, and missionaries from Manila to Macao, Malacca, and India (which the Portuguese Jesuits took to include China and Japan) by a Royal Decree of the 9th March, 1594,[1] but this edict, like others of a similar tenour, was more honoured in the breach than in the observance. In 1639, the *Rōjū* or Tokugawa cabinet severed all relations with Macao, and

[1] Printed in full on pp. 75–6 of my article *Subsidios para a historia dos Capitães-Gerais e Governadores de Macau 1557–1770* (Macau, 1944).

forbade further Portuguese intercourse with Japan on pain of death. The principal reason for this drastic act was the continued infiltration of Jesuit priests into Japan, in defiance of the numerous anti-Christian edicts and the persecution which had been raging since 1614. The Senate of Macao laid the major share of the blame for this on the ecclesiastical authorities at Manila, and wrote to the Viceroy of India, to the Governor and Municipality of Manila, and even to the Pope himself, pleading that the latter should prohibit further infiltration of missionaries into Japan on pain of excommunication for as long as the persecution should last. They pointed out that it was quite impossible for the few priests who succeeded in smuggling themselves ashore to make any conversions or to remain at large for more than a very short time ; this petition was endorsed by the prelates of the Jesuit, Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian Orders in Macao.[1]

In the winter of 1640, the Macao Senate made another earnest plea for the legalization of their Manila trade, particularly in view of the fact that their principal mainstay had gone with the abolition of the Nagasaki commerce. They admitted that although the Portuguese Crown had no valid reason for prohibiting trade with the Philippines, the Spanish Crown had some excuse, since the heavy imports of Chinese silks from Fukien, Kwangtung, and Macao to Manila (whence some of them were re-exported to Mexico and Peru) not only deprived the Seville silk merchants of an otherwise closed market, but diverted a considerable quantity of bullion from the Peruvian silver-mines of Potosi to Portuguese and Chinese hands, as the silks were invariably paid for in specie. They claimed that even if the Macaonese trade with Manila was effectively prohibited, as the Mexican and Manilan authorities had asked, this would make no practical difference. If the Portuguese were excluded, the trade would merely be monopolized by the Chinese merchants of Canton and Fukien ; and the Treasures of Potosi, instead of mainly benefitting fellow Christians, would be increasingly diverted to the coffers of the heathen Chinese. Since experience had proved beyond a peradventure that Manila could not exist without the China trade, because the connection with Mexico was too long and too tenuous to keep the Philippines adequately supplied, it was (the Senate claimed) " better to give the bread to the children

[1] This correspondence is printed on pp. 216–236 of my edition of Frei Jose de Jesus Maria's *Azia Sinica e Japonica* (Macau, 1941).

than to the dogs ", and therefore Macao should be allowed to have its quota ; even though the citizens of Manila, who could buy their silks and provisions cheaper from the Chinese at first-hand than through the intermediary of Portuguese from Macao, should have urged the contrary.[1]

By the time these remonstrances reached the Court of Madrid (if they ever did) Portuguese dependence on Spain was a thing of the past, and the accession of the Duke of Bragança to the Lusitanian Crown in December, 1640, marked the beginning of a bitter war which ended 28 years later in the grudging recognition of Portugal's independence by Spain. The news of this revolt, which only reached Macao and Manila in the summer of 1642, naturally brought about a complete severance of relations between the two Iberian colonies. But circumstances were too strong for this break to last. Spain and Portugal were both so far away ; other enemies so close, and mutual dependence on the China trade so great, that maugre national rivalry and hatred, a clandestine trade soon sprang up between them, and the peace of 1668 only legalized an existing state of affairs in so far as the Far East was concerned.[2]

It need hardly be said that the change of dynasty was not accomplished without further exacerbating Portuguese and Spanish rivalry. Thanks mainly to the enterprise of Antonio Fialho Ferreira, Macao received the news (via Java) before the Spaniards in the Philippines could hear from Mexico. The local Portuguese residents at Manila (or some of them) tricked the Spanish Governor into sending a small token force to secure Macao for King Philip, but which found on its arrival that the place had already declared for King John IV, and had no option but to surrender at discretion to the Captain-General, Dom Sebastião Lobo da Silveira. This latter subsequently violated the terms of the agreement and forcibly disarmed the Spaniards in disregard of his plighted word, for which he was taken to task by the Senators at the time, and later severely censured by the Viceroy of India. Meanwhile all the Spaniards in the Colony, including some nuns from the Poor Clares Convent, were shipped off somewhat unceremoniously in a couple

[1] The Senate of Macao specifically had in view the *Memorials* of Don Juan Grau y Monfalcon (Madrid, 1638), and Don Pedro Quiroga y Mora who paid a visit of inspection to Acapulco in 1635.

[2] For details of the Portuguese Restoration in Macao and its immediate effect on the Manila trade, cf. C. R. Boxer, *Macau 300 years ago*, pp. 139–144 (Macao, 1942).

of small vessels at the end of the year 1644, eventually reaching the Philippines after an eventful voyage via Annam.

At the same time as this secular disturbance, a bitter ecclesiastical feud was raging in Macao, in which at least one Spanish Friar took a prominent part. The trouble originated with the arrest and imprisonment of a turbulent cleric named Paulo Teixeira by the Governor of the Bishopric, Frey Bento de Christo, O.F.M., in January, 1641. Teixeira subsequently escaped from the tower in which he was confined, and took refuge in the Jesuit College, where his protectors refused to give him up, all censures, threats, and denunciations notwithstanding. The whole city took sides in the unedifying dispute which followed, the Captain-General and the majority of the officials backing the Jesuits, whilst the Dominicans and Augustinians rallied to the support of their Franciscan Prelate. Each side formally excommunicated the partisans of the other, and the walls of the convents and churches were plastered with scathing pasquils and lampoons. The news of Dom John IV's accession brought only a temporary peace, and the quarrel soon broke out with renewed fierceness, both sides passing from words to blows and enlisting armed bands of slaves and soldiers to participate in the fray. The dispute lasted for four years, and seems to have been settled more through mutual exhaustion than by anything else; although the appointment of the Goanese Canon, Padre Manuel Fernandes, to the dual post of Governor of the Bishopric and Commissary of the Inquisition, may have helped matters, as the combination of the two offices in one person ended the rivalry which had hitherto obtained between the Franciscan and Jesuit holders of these respective posts. The Conde de Aveiras, Viceroy of Portuguese India, writing to the King in March, 1643, laid the blame for this bitter controversy on the fact that "for the last 30 years [the bishopric of] Macao has been governed by Friars who are swayed by favouritism, as exemplified by the case [of the present occupant] who is a foolish Capuchin Friar". The folly was not all on one side, however, and later Navarrete was to take the Jesuits severely to task for the crazy behaviour of their Padre Cipriano, which had led to his forcible deportation from Macao in 1638.[1]

[1] For the Jesuit-Franciscan controversy of 1640–44, cf. Padre Manuel Teixeira, *Macau e a sua Diocese*, vol. ii, pp. 130–142, and for the Cipriano affair, *ibidem*, pp. 104–7, and Navarrete, *Controversias antiguas y modernas* (Madrid, 1679), pp. 435–6.

(To be concluded.)

The Identification of Ptolemy's Dounga

By J. A. B. PALMER

IN a paper entitled "Two Notes on Ptolemy's Geography of India" published in *JRAS.*, 1941, pp. 208 ff., the late Professor E. H. Johnston discussed the location of a place named "Dounga" by Ptolemy, book vii, ch. 1, s. 6. He also examined the historical circumstances relating to Dounga and suggested its possible identity with Dhenukākaṭa mentioned in some of the cave inscriptions of the Bombay region. Professor Johnston, however, did not arrive at a sufficiently exact idea of the topography, possibly because he was without that local knowledge which adds so much to any reading of a map. Consequently, some of his suggestions appear to be susceptible of amendment.

In reading the maps, changes of coastline and also of road-system must be allowed for. In the first century A.D. the modern Bombay was a chain of insignificant islets with awkward currents (as still in the eighteenth century A.D.) through the channels between them, and the stretch of water eastwards of them was not as yet a vast land-locked anchorage. North of this chain of islets, the large island of Salsette had not yet assumed precisely its present form. It was not yet joined to the northernmost of the islets now incorporated in Bombay, but there was a navigable channel round its southern end into what is now the northern extremity of Bombay Harbour. Thence, as still, a narrowing channel led north-eastwards to Thana and then turned north and west, thus rounding Salsette and dividing it from the mainland: this whole channel, known as "Thana Creek", comes out on the north of Salsette by Bassein. On the coast a little north of Bassein lies Souppara. Thus bounded, Salsette is roughly a triangle with its apex towards the east at Thana. The centre of the island is a tangle of hills rising to 1,500 feet. Westward of these is an absolutely flat plain about four miles wide now covered with paddy fields, palm-groves, and salt-pans. Along the extreme western, or ocean, edge of the island comes an intermittent fringe of low hills. The plain has obviously been filled up by gradual silting and reclamation which indeed is still going on, and these low hills on the west were originally islets (some are still, at least at high tide). In the first century A.D. they were all true

islands still and the western coast of Salsette was nearer the central massif than the coast as now formed.

Salsette contains one large and important set of Buddhist caves at Kanheri, which lie in the hills near the centre of the island. This indicates that the road from east to west across the island ran near this point, and would have come out on the edge of the western coastal plain near Borivli (whence the caves are now most easily reached): it is still possible, with some detours due to the creation of artificial lakes, to walk across from Thana to Borivli past the caves. Other ancient sites, e.g. caves at Jogeshwari, lie farther south near the southern end of the island. It was therefore in the centre and south of the island that the centres of population lay in the first century A.D. There is nothing to indicate a road round the northern tip of the island nor a centre of population there.

Opposite Thana, the River Ulhas, the most important river of the region, flows into Thana Creek. This is the true mouth of the Ulhas, although Thana Creek, being narrow, can be taken on a map to form one stream with the Ulhas, having its mouth at Bassein. A few miles up the river lies Kalyan, the Kalliena of the Periplus Maris Erythræi, which is not mentioned by Ptolemy, but is (topographically) replaced in his text by Dounga.

In assessing the importance of Kalyan, Professor Johnston described it as "situated at the foot of the two regular ascents of the Western Ghats leading towards Nasik and Poona". This statement is not sufficiently exact: the ascents referred to are the Tal Ghat and the Bor Ghat, and the statement fails to mention the ascent, which was the most important of all in the first century A.D., namely the Nanaghat.

There are innumerable ways up and down the face of the Western Ghats, precipitous though these often are: such ways range from woodcutters' paths to the main passes, of which two now carry railways. Of these we are concerned with three, viz. the Tal Ghat, which ascends to Nasik; the Nanaghat, which ascends to Junnar; and the Bor Ghat, which ascends to Karle (and thence to Poona).

The northernmost of these is the Tal Ghat. This must be regarded as combined with another pass known as the Sher Ghat, slightly north, up which is now a secondary road (not much used) that leads back along the plateau edge to join the main Tal Ghat road at the top of the latter's ascent. The Tal Ghat proper is the pass which carries the railway to Central India and the Agra road,

and near the top of it lies Nasik. At present the road from the foot of this pass swings off south-westward and passes not far from Kalyan, to Thana and Bombay. This, however, is a deflection of the ancient road system, due to the magnet of Bombay. In ancient times the route from Nasik, whether following the Sher Ghat (as it well may have) or the Tal Ghat proper, must have made its way to the important port of Souppara, lying on the coast just north of Bassein and the embouchure of Thana Creek. Souppara's importance shows that it was connected with a pass up the Ghats: that must have been the Sher Ghat and the Tal Ghat. A road via the Sher Ghat will obviously make for Souppara and goes nowhere near Kalyan. Then, Kalyan is on the south bank of the Ulhas: if the road from the Tal Ghat proper had made for Kalyan, the place would have been on the north bank. Hence Kalyan is not connected primarily with the Tal Ghat and Sher Ghat roads, whose outlet is Souppara.

The next main pass to the south is the Nanaghat, which is no longer important: it carries no railway nor even a road for vehicles. In ancient times, however, it can be judged to have been the most important of all. This is indicated by the caves with Andhra monuments at its head. Then, it leads first to Junnar, whose Buddhist remains are important. From there, however, the map indicates that the road went on to a still more important place, Paithan itself; this lies almost due east of Junnar, so that the Nanaghat provides the most direct route from the coast to Paithan. The foot of the Nanaghat is almost due east and no great distance from Kalyan. The connection of Kalyan with this pass, which Professor Johnston omitted to mention, was probably the principal factor in the importance of Kalyan in the first century A.D.

The third pass is the Bor Ghat. At present the road and the railway by the Bor Ghat follow different routes. From Bombay the road goes to Thana and crosses the bridge there; then it turns back south to a place called Panvel, leaving Kalyan away to the east: then it turns east again to Khopoli at the foot of the pass, whence it ascends to Khandala on the lip of the plateau. The railway likewise crosses at Thana; but goes on first east to Kalyan and then south past Karjat, whence it ascends to the plateau and only meets the road again at Khandala. From Khandala road and rail continue together to Lonavla and past Karle to Poona.

Karle stands to the Bor Ghat as Nasik stands to the Tal Ghat

and Junnar to the Nanaghat. As the Nanaghat route went on from Junnar to the city of Paithan, so the Bor Ghat route led past Karle to a still more important place. This was Ter, identified (first by Fleet) as the ancient Tagara of Ptolemy, bk. vii, ch. 1, s. 82, and Periplus M.E., ch. 51. A glance at the map shows that the most direct route from this important mart to the west coast is via the Bor Ghat.

Near the foot of the valley up whose side the Bor Ghat railway now ascends lie the Kondane Caves. It can therefore be inferred that the ancient route by the Bor Ghat followed the railway route and not the modern road. This means that its terminus was Kalyan, not Panvel. The modern road route is another deflection due to the magnet of Bombay: Panvel is opposite Bombay, on a creek running into Bombay Harbour, and, when Bombay was developing and Poona was the chief inland city, the easiest communication between them was by boat across the harbour to Panvel and thence to the Bor Ghat.

Other smaller ways up the face of the Western Ghats close to, and a little southward from, these Bor Ghat ascents lead up to Lonavla. If they are followed downwards, they lead south-westwards without difficulty to Chaul. This place is the ancient Semylla, which is mentioned by Ptolemy after Souppara and Dounga. If therefore the route down the Bor Ghat to Kalyan were closed, traffic could be diverted to Semylla.

There was no doubt a road up and down the coastal plain or Konkan. This is intersected by numerous rivers and streams, which are torrents after the monsoon arrives, but nearly dry from December to June. One of the largest and most important of these is the Ulhas. No doubt the point where Kalyan stands represents the point where the north–south coastal road crossed the river: it is also near the highest point where there is water enough for ships all the year round.

A true picture of the topography thus does not exactly correspond to Professor Johnston's summary indications. Souppara was the outlet for the traffic of the Tal Ghat (and Sher Ghat) which keeps north of the Ulhas: on the other hand, Kalyan lived on the traffic of the Nanaghat for Paithan itself and of the Bor Ghat for the very important Ter and of the north–south coastal road; while Semylla must draw from the Bor Ghat and smaller passes farther south. This, of course, must be taken as referring to the main

bulk of the traffic at each place: the topography allows diversion of traffic from the foot of the Nanaghat north-westward to Souppara, if desired, or from the foot of the Tal Ghat south-westwards to Kalyan, but such traffic should be regarded as secondary or abnormal.

The prosperity of Kalyan thus obviously depends on its being in the same hand as the heads of its two passes, the Nanaghat and the Bor Ghat, and the country above them giving access to Paithan and Ter. If Kalyan was held, or if its river approach was controlled, by a ruler engaged in hostilities with the ruler who held the heads of the Nanaghat and Bor Ghat or the country beyond, its traffic would be interrupted and its interests seriously damaged.

It was as the port for the luxury trade with Paithan and Ter that Kalyan was important to Greek mariners. If its traffic in those directions was interrupted they would not visit a place up a long narrow sea-channel and a river, that can only be reached by a difficult beat and on a favourable tide. On the other hand, Souppara and Semylla lie on the coast, and hence will be visited by Greek vessels touching at the coast or moving up and down, even if for reasons of war or politics the inland trade is temporarily interrupted. Hence, in such circumstances, Kalliena may temporarily disappear from the notes of mariners, although Souppara and Semylla continue to appear.

Such circumstances seem undoubtedly to have arisen in the course of the wars between the Śakas and the Andhras of Paithan. The Śaka Nahapāna evidently at one time occupied Nasik, Junnar, and Karle, the heads of the Tal Ghat, Nanaghat, and Bor Ghat. In so doing he cut the communications of the Andhra commercial centres, Paithan and Ter, with the coastal entrepôts for the foreign luxury trade, Souppara, Kalliena, and Semylla. He also threatened the centre of their dominions from a wide semicircle.

The situation was quickly reversed. The inscriptions which record Nahapāna's control at the head of the passes only run from 41 to 46 of what is most probably the Śaka era. His occupation need not have extended much each side of these terminal dates, for it placed the Andhras in such an intolerable position that their reaction was certain to be swift and violent. This is, indeed, testified by the inscriptions which record this reaction under the leadership of Gotamīputra. We thus have to do with a short struggle marked by swift reversals of fortune: this obviates the difficulty over the compression of events, which has led some scholars to question

Boyer's chronological scheme (*JA.*, 1897) and to deny that Nahapāna's inscriptional dates are in Śaka. It reinforces the arguments which favour the Śaka dating (as to which see de la Vallée Poussin, *L'Inde au temps des Mauryas*, p. 285).

After Gotamīputra's counter-attack, the Śakas renewed their advance and regained some of their lost ground, as appears from the Girnar inscription. The record that Rudradāman defeated his Andhra rival (probably Vāśishṭīputra Puḷumayi), but spared him on account of mercy and relationship, may indicate a compromise peace in which neither party achieved all his aims. This corresponds to what appears to be the fact, namely that the Śakas kept Aparānta but did not reconquer the heads of the Ghat passes.

The exploits of Sandanes at Kalliena in Periplus Maris Erythræi, ch. 52, belong either to the period of Nahapāna or of the later advance under Rudradāman. As Professor Johnston pointed out, he was a Śaka and the emendation of his name to "Sandares" (so as to make him into an Andhra called "Sundar") is wrong and uncalled for. That the king of Periplus M.E., ch. 41, is Nahapāna, no longer admits of doubt. The text, as based on the latest examination of the manuscripts, supports the view that the name was originally "Nambanos", and eliminates the "Mambarus" of earlier texts (see Hjalmar Frisk in *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift*, xxxiii, 1927). "Nambanos" is "Nahapāna" (see de la Vallée Poussin, *L'Inde au temps des Mauryas*, p. 289). If Nahapāna dated in Śaka, then the early dates for the Periplus now in fashion must be abandoned: in regard to a late dating, Professor Johnston remarked (loc. cit., p. 213) that this "involves postponing the excavation of Karle to the second century", but that remark is based on the identity of Dounga and Dhenukākaṭa, which was suggested by Professor Johnston, but is not acceptable for reasons set out below. Professor Johnston rightly connected Ptolemy's mention of Dounga and omission of Kalliena with the effects of the Śaka-Andhra wars. The evidence, however, does not justify his contention that Dounga was developed by the Śakas to replace Kalliena. The Sandanes episode shows what the Śakas did in regard to Kalliena: they intercepted the Greek ships and sent them to their own secure port of Barygaza [Broach].

The Andhras on the other hand, as Professor Johnston suggested, developed Semylla when Kalliena was in difficulties. This means that Ptolemy's source relates to a time when the Śakas controlled the

coast down to the Ulhas and Kalliena, but did not control the Bor Ghat by occupying Karle: for it is only in such circumstances that the Andhras would be able to build up Semylla's importance by sending traffic there down the minor passes near the Bor Ghat. The Śakas have established themselves on the Northern Konkan: the frontier is probably along, or a little south, of the Ulhas: Kalliena is blocked and the Andhras cannot get goods through it by either the Nanaghat or the Bor Ghat, but they can get down the Bor Ghat or passes near it to Semylla.

In these circumstances the Greek ship carrying Ptolemy's informant did not make the effort to put into Kalliena, but coasted from Souppara to Semylla or vice versa. On this transit, it passed a local port called Dounga, which was not noticed at other times by mariners whose objective was Kalliena. This fact is the proof that Dounga was on the west coast of Salsette. The mariners visiting Kalliena missed the west coast of Salsette, as they went in at Bassein and came out either the same way or by the channel from Thana into Bombay Harbour (or vice versa): when, therefore, we find that they do not record Dounga, but that it is recorded by one who did not go to Kalliena, we must conclude that Dounga was on the stretch of coast which Kalliena's visitors missed, that is to say the west coast of Salsette.

Dounga, however, cannot have been, as Professor Johnston suggested at Dongri. This place is one of the low fringe of hills on the ocean side of Salsette described above. It was not, then, as he thought, a village at the foot of a hill on Salsette: it was an island at least two or three miles off Salsette. It is also at the north-western corner of the island and therefore too far north, not only for Ptolemy's co-ordinates (as Professor Johnston saw), but also for the contemporary topography of Salsette. The centres of population on the island were at that time towards the centre and the south, not towards the north. Moreover, the existence of the Kanheri caves indicates that the road past them led to some fairly substantial place on the southern half of the western coast of Salsette. The inference is irresistible that this was the place which found its way as Dounga into Ptolemy.

Professor Johnston proposed also to connect the name "Dounga" with "Dongri". If, however, the present Dongri is not Dounga, it is unnecessary to do this. "Dongri" is a common local place-name, meaning a small hill: numerous examples can be found on

large scale maps, and there is a " Dongri " on the island of Bombay itself, levelled physically now though the name survives.

Another local place-name is more probably concealed in " Dounga ". This is the word given in Molesworth's *Marathi Dictionary* as " Jūñ ", but on European maps spelt as " Jhu " or " Juhu ". It is a name applied to the low sandy islets or semi-islets of the region, such as those along the western coast of Salsette. One such " Juhu " at the south-western corner of Salsette is Bombay's principal bathing beach and also the site of the airfield. Another lies across Bombay Harbour north of Panvel Creek, and the name is even given to a largish island dividing into two branches the River Bhatsai, which flows into the Ulhas above Kalyan.

I suggest that an iota has dropped out of the name and that it was originally " *Διούγγα* ". " Di " in Ptolemy represents " j ", as explained by Professor Johnston with examples on p. 218 of his paper. " Diounga " would then be a close reproduction of " jūñ ".

Professor Johnston also argued that Dounga was identical with Dhenukākaṭa. Such an identity encounters a very grave difficulty. It is surely incredible, if Dounga was (as Professor Johnston himself argued) on Salsette, that there should be a nest of inscriptions from its inhabitants at Karle, 80 miles away by road, and only one such inscription in the important caves at Kanheri on Salsette itself. In view of that fact Dhenukākaṭa can hardly have been on Salsette : but Dounga was. Therefore the two places are not the same.

Dhenukākaṭa was probably near Karle. When compared with the similar cases of Nasik and Junnar, the collection of caves at Karle, Bhaja, and Bedsa indicates the existence of some substantial place nearby. This may have been Dhenukākaṭa. It would have been an important intermediate stage on the Kalyan–Bor Ghat–Ter route and its inhabitants would have had the means for their benefactions in wealth gained by controlling the traffic up and down the pass. The place could have been in the Talegaon Dabhade and Khamshet area. Another attractive location, though rather far from the caves, would be where the Bor Ghat–Ter road will have crossed the River Bhima, that is to say the modern town of Dhond.

To sum up, Ptolemy's mention of Dounga and omission of Kalliena fit in very well with what topography indicates as the effect on Kalliena of the wars between the Śakas and the Andhras, which occurred at about the time that an observer from whom

Ptolemy obtained information might have been in India. Kalliena suffers eclipse when it is not held by the same ruler as the country above the Nanaghat and the Bor Ghat, which happened both under Nahapāna and Rudradāman. Dounga then comes to notice by coasting mariners as a local port on the west coast of Salsette near the southern end, but it is not developed to replace Kalliena. The Andhras use Semylla in place of Kalliena and the Śakas divert the Greek ships from Kalliena to Barygaza. The name "Dounga" is most probably "jūñ" reproduced originally as "Diounga". The place Dounga is not identical with Dhenukākaṭa.

The Meaning of the name Esther

By A. S. YAHUDA

IN the book of Esther ii, 7, we are told that Mordecai brought up his niece Hadassah, and it adds "Hadassah that is Esther" (הֲדַסָּה הִיא אֶסְתֵּר). While it has been generally recognized that הדסה is the feminine of הֲדַס "Myrtle" which occurs several times in the Bible (Is. xli, 19; lv, 13; Zach. i, 8, 10, 11; Neh. viii, 15), there has never been any clear and definite opinion as to the meaning of *Esther*. Already in olden times it was felt that *Esther* was of foreign origin, but no one thought that הדסה היא אסתר meant to convey that there was an *identity of meaning* in both names. Thus, we find in the Bab Talmud, *Megilla* 13A, that Rabbi Nehemia was of the opinion that her name was *Hadassah*, but that she was called by the Gentiles *Esther*, after the "star-Venus" אַסְתַּדַר[1]; whereas according to Rabbi Jehoshua, her name was *Esther*, and she was subsequently characterized as *Hadassah* "Myrtle" because of the greenish colour of her face.[2]

The explanation of *Esther* as "star-Venus" was for a long time generally accepted. But when the Assyriologist Jensen discovered in Esther the great goddess *Ishtar*,[3] his view was adopted by almost all commentators. Jensen, however, went still further in coupling *Hadassah* with an Akkadian word *ḫadašatu* "bride", because "bride" was often the title of the goddess *Ishtar*. He even asserted that *ḫadašatu* actually meant "myrtle"—an assertion which must

[1] That is Persian ستاره also أَسْتَر, Greek ἀστήρ; *Targum Sheni* to Esther 2, 7, says expressly that the star-Venus (כוכב נוגה) was meant, so also *Yalqūt Shim'ōnī*.

[2] This conforms perfectly with the Persian conception of the highest degree of grace and beauty; it is a feature which I have observed on many Persian and Parsi ladies. I may add also that in the miniatures of the best Persian and Mogul periods, a soft olive-green colouring in the faces of ladies with almond-shaped eyes can be noticed. The interpretation given in Levy's *Neuhebraeisches Woerterbuch* of ירקרקת is a makeshift due to lack of knowledge of the real meaning attached to the "greenish colour".

[3] *WZKM.*, vol. vi, 70, and 209 ff.; *ZA.*, vol. 10, 330, where he discussed the meaning Esther and Hadassah.

have surprised Assyriologists, because *ḫadašatu* was never used for "myrtle".[1]

It is not my intention to comment further on such exegetical exercises. Things in the Bible are much simpler than they are made to appear.

As the scene of the Esther story was in Persia, and the Jews had adopted there, just as in all other countries during their millenary peregrinations, local customs and habits, it is reasonable to believe that in a Jewish family of a higher social class, with court connections, like that of Mordecai, a person may have had, besides a Hebrew name, also a Persian one.[2] It is further reasonable to presume that the observation of the author "Hadassah that is Esther", was actually meant to convey the *identity of meaning* in both names, and that consequently Esther was the Persian *equivalent* of Hadassah "Myrtle".

Now the question is whether such a presumption is justified from a linguistic point of view. As is well known the word for "Myrtle" in Persian is *ās* (آس). The fact that *ās* is current in Arabic and attested in Persian only after the penetration of Islam, by no means justifies the conclusion that it is not a genuine ancient Persian word but an Arabic word, as is suggested in Persian dictionaries.[3]

As a matter of fact Ibn Duraid, one of the earliest and most authoritative Arab lexicographers (died 321 H./934 C.E.) states expressly that it was a foreign word.[4] It is most probably borrowed

[1] Leo Oppenheim (of Dropsie College, Philadelphia) tells me that *ḫadašatu* is nowhere attested in the meaning of "myrtle", and that it has no connection whatsoever with הדסה. He also drew my attention to Theo. Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, ii, p. 31, note 3, where *ḫadašātu* "bride" is connected with *ḫašādu* "to make love" (*epēš ra'me*).

[2] So also were Babylonian names added to the Hebrew names of Daniel and his three friends, Daniel i, 7.

[3] The word for "Myrtle" in Pehlevi (Middle-Persian) *murt*, N.-Pers. مورد, is of course from Greek μύρτος.

[4] See *Lisān al-Arab*, vii, p. 316. قال ابن دريد الآس هو المشهور احسبه دخيلا "Ibn Duraid says: *'ās* is the well-known plant, and I think it is an introduced word", this in spite of its being attested in early Arab poetry of the *Hudeilīs*. Some details about *'ās* are given in Ibn Baitār's *Al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr* s.v. (German translation by Joseph von Sontheimer, vol. 1, p. 38). About Aramaic *'āsâ*, which is also current in the Babylonian Talmud, cf. A. Kohut, *Aruch Completum* s.v.

from Aramaic *'āsâ* as many other names of plants.[1] For all these reasons I was always certain that آس "myrtle" was the first element in Esther.[2]

I felt, however, that if the identity of meaning in *Esther* and *Hadassah* is meant, it must be proved that *Esther* was used for "myrtle" plainly and simply just as הדס. When I found that *pus(s)a* = Medic *puthra* "son, child" in the Achæmenid inscriptions was the Old-Persian form, from which the New-Persian *pus* has developed,[3] I was tempted to find out whether it was not possible to trace the form *ās* back to an Old-Persian form *as(s)a* = Medic **astra* reproduced in אסתר. This opinion was fully supported by Ernst Herzfeld, the eminent Iranian scholar and archæologist, with whom I discussed the matter, and I am indebted to him for supplying me with the following examples: Old-Persian *uša* which corresponds to Medic **uštra* [4]; and *sās* "ruler", the eponym of the kings of the Sassanide dynasty, which would correspond to Old-Persian **sās(s)a* and Medic **sastra*, attested in Avestan *sāstar* (genitive **sāstrah*).[5] The latter example is more illuminating, because it offers a closer analogy to our case. Consequently, just as *uša* from *uštra*, and *sās* from *sastra*, so also *ās* "myrtle" can perfectly have come from Medic **astra* (by way of Old-Persian

and B. Geiger, *Additamenta* to the *Aruch*, p. 40, and more especially Im. Loew's classical work *Die Flora der Juden, ii*, pp. 256 ff. It is notable that whereas آس is generally the word for "myrtle" in all parts of Arab countries, it is unknown in Yemen where the word هدس = הדס is used. This can only be explained by presuming that the Jews were the first to introduce the myrtle into Yemen, because they needed it for ceremonial purposes during the tabernacle festivals. See Lev. xxiii, 40, where ענף עבות is interpreted as myrtle. See also Neh. viii, 15. As is well known, the Jews were settled in that part of South Arabia long before the Muhammedan era.

[1] On another occasion I shall discuss the question whether Akkadian *asu* is identical with Aramaic *'āsâ* and Arabic *'ās*.

[2] It must be stressed that the pronunciation آس (with a long *ā*) as it appears in literary Arabic, is by no means general. Thus, for instance, in Syria and Egypt it is pronounced *'ass*; cf. M. A. H. Ducrois, *Essai sur le Droguier populaire Arabe, Inst. d'Egypte*, xv, p. 3.

[3] Sanskr. *putrá*; Old-Persian *pus(s)a*; Middle-Persian (Pehlevi) *pus, pusar*. Both forms occur in Firdausi's Shāhnama; cf. Fritz Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdausi's Shahnama*, pp. 199*b*, 200*a*, 205*b*.

[4] Avest. *uštra*; Sanskr. *uṣtra*; Pehl. *uštar*; New-Persian *šutur*. New-Persian *šutur-bār* "camel-load" is the same as Old-Persian *uša-bāri* "camel-rider", as *bār* is used for "load" and "riding".

[5] Avest. *sāstar* "ruler, or chieftain"; Sanskr. *śāstaṛ*, Pehl. *sāstār*.

ās(s)a), and this Medic form **astra* is precisely the word preserved in אסתר.[1]

Further my attention was drawn by Paul M. Tedesco to Herzfeld's *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, Berlin, 1937, vol. viii, p. 23, where Herzfeld deals more extensively with the matter, adding another instance to the above-mentioned, namely, New-Persian *āš* "broth, mash", Old-Persian **āš(š)a*, which goes back to **aštra*, as preserved in Avesta *āstra*, an example, which is exactly analagous to that of Esther.[2]

The absence of **Astra* for "myrtle", in the few records of Old-Persian literature which have come down to us, does not prove that it was not already in use in the Achæmenid period, when the book of Esther was composed, or even earlier. This, indeed, would not be the only unattested word which may be one day discovered to have been used in Old-Persian. It suffices to mention that many other New-Persian and Middle-Persian words have been found in their older form in the Achæmenid inscriptions, and that, for instance, in Coptic a great number of words, considered for a long time not to have been older than the Christian era, were afterwards found to have been in use thousands of years before in Egyptian.

But apart from all this, the mere fact that the author of the Book of Esther, who shows a perfect knowledge of Persian and a first-hand acquaintance with Persian life, manners, and customs, plainly and unmistakably states that "Hadassah that is Esther", which can only be interpreted that Esther has the *same meaning* "Myrtle" as Hadassah, viz. "myrtle", is sufficient evidence that in this name the Old Form **Astra* of *ās* "Myrtle" is preserved, and that it was actually used in that form in his time.

One more fact may be mentioned because it lends support,

[1] The change of the pre-Iranian sound *tr*, Medic *thr* into *hr*. Old-Persian *θr* into *s*, as for instance *puthra* > *puhr*, *puθra* > into *PUS* are regular (cf. E. Benveniste, *Grammaire du Vieux-Perse*, Paris, 1931, sect. 105 ff.). In the case of *uša* "camel", *sās* "ruler", and *āš* "broth", the suffix has fallen out through progressive assimilation, as also in the case of *ās* "myrtle" from **astra*.

[2] As Herzfeld wrote to me at that time (1936), he was led to his new interpretation of Sās, pl. Sāsān, by my suggestion about Esther. His emendation of *Kitāb Al-Saksarān*, the title of a Persian book, mentioned by Al-Mas'udi, *Murūǧ Al-Ḏahab*, vol. ii, p. 118, into *al-sastarān*, "the book of the rulers," is very ingenious, as it is synonymous with *xvatāynāmak*, the title of the Sassanide *Shāhnama*, "the book of the kings." See also Herzfeld's *Altpersische Inschriften, Erster Ergaenzungsband Zu den Archaeologischen Mitteilugen aus Iran*, Berlin, 1938, pp. 302 f.

though indirectly, to the identification of *Esther* with *Hadassah*, and that is that Medic had greater currency as a spoken language in Old-Persian than the language of the Achæmenid inscriptions.

As in all countries, through all ages, the Jews actually clung in their daily life more to the spoken dialects of their surroundings than to the written literary language, so the Jews in Persia, too, were most probably more familiar with the Medic dialect, in which the form אסתר **astra*, and not *āsⁱ(s)a*, was current.[1]

[1] I made a special study of the Jewish literature in different Arabic dialects from Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Morocco, as well as of the Judeo-Persian literature, and found that the Jews have preserved ancient Arabic and Persian forms, which have disappeared from the spoken Arabic and Persian of to-day. The same is the case in the Judeo-Spanish literature, where old Spanish forms from Aragon, Catalonia, Asturias, and Old Castile have been preserved.

On the Sogdian St. George Passion

By ILYA GERSHEVITCH

THE Sogdian fragment of the Acts of St. George, published by O. Hansen in *APAW.*, 1941, contains a number of words and passages mistranslated or left untranslated by the editor, which can be understood through careful examination of the text and its parallel versions. I have to thank Dr. Henning for lending me his reprint of Hansen's paper and allowing me to include in what follows his marginal notes [1] on restoration and translation of numerous passages. The words *zwby* 273, and *r'n'* 278, which Hansen has not attempted to explain, will be treated first.

In the Athenian MS. it is said that George struck the ground with his feet, καὶ ἤνοιξε ἡ γῆ τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς, whereupon George ordered the demon: κάτελθε εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια τῆς ἀβύσσου (Krumbacher, *Abh. d. Kön.-Bay. Ak. d. Wiss.*, philos.-philol. u. hist. Kl., xxv, 3 (1911), p. 13, 15 sq.). The Syriac version speaks of a "chasm" laid bare (cf. Brooks, *Muséon*, 38 (1925), p. 110) and of the "abyss of Sheol" (cf. ibid., p. 111 with n. 8) which is "sealed" by George after the demon has disappeared in it. The Coptic version, too, has "and it (the earth) opened its mouth", see E. A. W. Budge, *The Martyrdom and Miracles of St. George of Cappadocia*, p. 231. *zwby* is clearly the word rendering "chasm" or "mouth", and the following restoration can be suggested for the lines 270–7: *bžyq dyw' 'wγz z'y [zwb]y cys'r* o *γy n' sqw' tγw mdy [wyncyq* [2] o *γy pynd'r]t z'y pr by'nyq [z'wr xyp](θ) zwby* o *w'n fr'my [qw wyny s'r šyr]qty 'wγz tγw [γy myn z'y] c'[s]'* [3] *qw pdq' myθ [s'r* o *γy t'](p)d'rt* [4] *xwny z'y 't [ps'* [5] *n' wyn]'wcyq qty dyw.* Translation: "Sinful demon, descend into the jaws of the earth!" And by divine power the earth opened its jaws. Thus the saint

[1] Indicated by (H.). The asterisk preceding the number of a line of the text refers to the corresponding section in Hansen's commentary.

[2] Cf. Man. *wyncyk*, Henning, *Tales* (*BSOAS.*, xi, 465 sqq.), E 29, and my *G(rammar of) M(anichean) S(ogdian)*, § 475. There is hardly enough space for *wyn'wcyq*.

[3] Hansen's restoration c'[*f*]' is not very helpful. c'[*s*]' stands here beside *c's'r*, lines 227, 228, as [*cy*]*s'* 243 beside *cys'r* 271.

[4] Cf. S. *t'p-* "to seal", Henning, *Tales*, H 27.

[5] Or *ywny* "at once".

ordered him : " Descend, and remain under the earth until doomsday ! " And he sealed the earth and afterwards [3] the demon became invisible.

In a Manichean fragment, *M* 502, l, we read *zryncṯ 'tyšn* . . . . [*cn*] *zwf' pδδyncṯ* " delivers and pulls the . . . from their jaws ". The word also occurs in the Rustam fragment, *P* 13, 23, a reference which I owe to Dr. Henning, who reads *šyk'β'nt zwβ* " they split (= opened wide) their jaws ".

It is clear then that Sogdian *zuw-/zuf-* corresponds to Av. *zafar-*. *r'n'* is the word for " belt ", spelt *r'n'kh* in B. Sogdian (*VJ* 41c, 984, 1167, where Gauthiot translated " jewel "). The Greek version of the Athen. and Paris codices relates how George, having unloosened (*λύσας*, Krumbacher, loc. cit., p. 13, 17) his belt entered the temple, and having slung it around the idols' necks, smashed them (*κατέαξεν*, ibid., p. 13, 19 ; *κατελέπτυνεν*, p. 27, 18). The belt is also mentioned in the Ethiopic version, see E. A. W. Budge, *George of Lydda*, p. 247. One might therefore restore : *c'nw [xwyc](q) m't wyny r'n' swd'rt [šyrqty pt]qry st'ny cyntr* o *γy [wy]twγd'rt* [1] *xwny ptqry* " unfastening his belt (*lit.* while his belt was unfastened, cf. below, on 115 sq.), the saint ran into the idol-temple and overthrew (*lit.* melted down) the idol ". Professor Bailey has pointed out the corresponding word in Ossetic, *ron*, see *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1945, 23 sq.

*65. Restore *wrnd'[rnt wyšnt]*.

*66. Restore *[pyzd'rt]*.

*76. The gap requires more than *γy*, perhaps *[γy tym]* " and no one saw them again ".

*77. Restore *[cn p](ts)'r* " afterwards ".

*78. Reference to Benveniste, *TSP.*, p. 194 on 106, is missing.

80. *mrt* " man " does not exist. Read probably *mrty*.

81. Restore *[dyw m]'nwq* (H.), cf. Syr. " appearance of fiends ", Greek *δαίμονας παρέστησεν ἡμῖν*, Krumbacher, loc. cit., p. 9, 26, cf. p. 24, 4.

84 sq. " I know how I shall destroy " (H.).

95. *tyw'q mync* " having a child ", referring to the widow (H.).

103 sq. " That is why there is no bread in your house " (H.).

*106 sqq. As Henning remarks, the Sogdian here literally translates the Syriac version. Restore 106 *[šw'm q]w*, 107 *['tšy 'w]stym . nyžt'*

[1] Henning's restoration.

108, is 3 Sg. Fem. Pret., " she went out to ask for bread " ; cf. Hansen *118. *108 is wrong.

*111 sqq. *brw* cannot be " leaves "[1], on the other hand no parallel version has " fruits ", and " fruit " appears elsewhere as an *-aka-* stem (B. *βr'k*, Man. *βryy*, Chr. plural *bryty*). The Greek and Coptic suggest " shoots " or " buds ".[2] *brw*, unless the *w* belongs to the stem, may be a light stem, accusative in 113, ablative with wrong ending in 121. As to the word for " roof ", it is unfortunately not clear from Hansen's remarks whether *qdwy* or *qrwy* should be read. For *'rync*, B. *"r'ync Padm.* 28 might have been mentioned.

115 sq. *wyn'wcyq qty . . . cnw θbrtysq* " became visible as he gives (= in the act of giving) " ; cf. 172 sq. *wyd'sd'rnt sγtm'n c'nw w'n γwd'rnt qt wdy wy'q qw . . .* " all were surprised while they said (= saying) : there is the place where . . . " ; 248 sq. *pcγyrd'rt c'nw w'n γwd'rt* " he cried saying " (H.).

123. Henning has recognized the identity of *fstry* with *bstry ST i* 34, 6, " spread table, table-cloth." [3]

133. *xwt'w'* " oh master ", not " oh God " (H.).

134. *rxy't* : Henning has recognized that *rxny*, Fragm. A, 30, is 3 Sg. Opt. of B. *rγn-* " to dare ", *VJ* 177, 1409. *Dhu* 224. *P* 2, 621. *P* 6, 43, and restored the preterit *r[x]nd'rt* in 163. One would expect the 3 Sg. Subj. *rxy't* to be a careless writing or misreading of *rxn't*.

136 sq. *cw ryžt tw'* " what you want ".

*139. Hansen's queried translation of *q't* as " dumb ", supported by the Greek version of the Paris MS., Krumbacher, loc. cit., p. 24, 26, by the Coptic version, Budge, *Martyrdom*, p. 222, and by the Ethiopic version, Budge, *George of Lydda*, p. 222, is corroborated by S. *kwr krn k't* " blind, deaf, dumb " in a Manichean hymn, *T ii D ii* 169 (*a*) R 12 sq. In B. Sogdian " dumb " is *k'δn* (*SCE*).

[1] Henning has a reference to Lentz, *ST ii* 579c, who translated *brw* in this passage as " magic ".

[2] *κλάδους*, Krumbacher, loc. cit., p. 10, 2; *κλῶνας* ibid. p. 24, 17. Coptic " budded ", Budge, *Martyrdom*, p. 305; but cf. ibid. p. 315, where the widow, referring to this miracle, says " O George . . ., who didst make the dried up pieces of wood to *bear fruit* again.

[3] On *f* alternating with *v* see *GMS.*, §§ 52 sqq., on the reduction of *fra-* before *s*, see § 316. It seems by the way possible that *fra-* was reduced to *f-* also before *b* (> *v*), so that *θvar-* " to give " may be derived with dissimilation from **fvar-* < *frabara-*. *fra-* would satisfactorily account for the augment in the imperfect *θāvar-*. Dissimilation would then have to be assumed also for Khwārezmian *hivr-* ; cf. Henning, *ZDMG.*, 90, *33*. Khotanese *haur-* was derived from *frabara-* by Konow, *NTS.*, xi, 83.

140. *'brγty* is of course = B. *'nβrγtk*, *'nβrγty*, *SCE*. Cf., with different preverb, *'wβr'wγtk*, *SCE* 28, " benumbed ". A possible cognate is Khot. *tcabrīs-/tcabrīya-*, which, however, renders Sanskrit *abhi-ā-kir-* " scatter " (*Suvarṇabhāsa* 68 v 2 *tca brīye* = Bud. Sansk. *abhyākarī*).

*152. *žwby* = B. *zwβ'kh Dhu* 30.38, " shell, husk ", not " scale " (H.).

*157. *b'wcyq b't qw tw'* . *qw* is not in Hansen's text (H.).

159. " Whereto he is needed." Clearly *qwc'* = B. *'kwts'r*, *kwrts'r* (H.).

162. *šwq w'št* translates Syriac " was silent ".[1] Henning refers to Man. *šwq 'skw' ['ty] 'yδc n' ps' M* 880, 10 sq. " be quiet and do not ask any questions ".

163. *r[x]nd'rt*, see above on 134.

166. *qšny* does not mean " beautiful ". Perhaps *fryšty ryt qšny* is a lapse of the scribe for *fryšty qšny ryt* " angel-shaped (angelic) face ". Thus also in 193 it would be more suitable to have *tw' qw* than *qw tw'*.

172 sq. See above on 115 sq.

*174. *'nc'y-* properly means " to rest ", hence (*a*) " to rest and stay somewhere ", (*b*) " to rest from something, cease " ; thus also Oss. *ăncaīn* " ausruhen, ruhen, aufhören " (H.).

*175. *'xyrsq*, *myns(y)q* : same participle ending also in *qwnysq* 268, and *brysq* 281 (H.).

180 sq. " When he entered he stood before the king " (H.).

*184. On predicative adjectives with plural ending see *GMS.*, § 1243.

*184 sqq. *trn* means " docile, soft " in all passages (H.).

*187. *fnyš-* (*fra-*) means " to deceive ", cf. *GMS.*, § 320 fn., *pnyš-* (*apa-*) " to lose ", cf. Henning, *BBB.*, p. 81.

193. See above on 166.

196. *žwy'q*, probably scribal error for *žwγy'q* " cruelty " (H.), cf. *GMS.*, § 410.

198 sqq. " Why did you not talk to me (like that) before punishing (me) " (H.).

202 sq. *γrb'q*, scribal error for *γrb' q[t]* " know that " (H.).

208 sqq. " He ordered that the crier (*pcγyry* < *pač-žγēraka-*) should stand on a high spot and speak thus : Be ready, all people,

[1] The similarity of Uyghur *šwk*, F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, p. 6, line 9, " motionless," may not be accidental, cf. German *still*.

and watch (see): for now Giwargis has agreed (lit. listened) to offer homage and sacrifice to our gods" (H.).

*213. *žwšy* "sacrifice" has been identified by Hansen with B. *δr'wšyh*, which Benveniste, *TSP.*, p. 176, connected with Pahl. *drōš*, etc. It may seem preferable to derive it from Av. *zaoθrā-* (cf. Hübschmann, *Arm. Gramm.*, p. 151) becoming **zōš-*, and with assimilation as in *žyšt-* (*GMS.*, § 451), *žōš-*, with pseudo-historical spelling B. *δr'wš-*.

*222. *'wm'n* "agreeable" occurs with the *-aka-* suffix as *"wm'n'k* in *TSP.*, see Benveniste, p. 172 on 266. *qtyš*: read *qtyšy* or *qtšy* (*-šy* depending on *ptqryt* "his idols"). Translate "have you become agreeable with him (*scil.* the king) that you will now offer sacrifice to his idols?"

*225. *šn-* occurs in *VJ* 999, and was treated by Bailey, *BSOAS.*, vii, 777.

227 sq. Henning restores *w'[sty tw']* in 227, and *w'(s)[ty* in 228, assuming the former to stand for *'wsty* by attraction: "put down your son from your side (bosom). She put her son down." Alternatively one might restore *w'[c tw']* and *w'(c)[xypθ]* "let down". *qwšy* is requoted in *228 as *qwšy'*; which is right?

248 sq. See above on 115 sq.

250. *xšd'r-*, probably < *xrštd'r-*, from *xrš-* "to pull" (H.).

*260. After *šmnwy* a word corresponding to Syriac "captains" has been left out by the scribe (H.).

267. Instead of *bnty* one should read *byty*, this being the Christian equivalent of Man. *wβyty*, 3 Sg. Prec., cf. *GMS.*, § 810. In the preceding line Henning reads *"trny* instead of *"tr ny*, and translates: "oh truly, that to me were power over you in the Fiery Flood,[1] so that I could have destroyed you!"

281. *w'm't* seems to be an analogical imperfect of the preterit *wm't*.

287. Restore *b[nty 'rq* (or *'qty'*) *γy]* (H.).

290. Restore *q[w p](tq)[ry s'r γy]* "what he had done to the idol" (H.).

292. Restore *q[θ'ry qt]* (H.).

294. Restore *[wyn('w)cyq]* "visible" rather than *[pcγ'z]* "acceptance".

296. "Do I not swear . . ." (H.).

298. Restore *[by'ry]* (H.).

[1] Cf. in other context, Syr. "river of fire", Brooks, loc. cit., p. 106, line 7.

348. *prx'm* is quoted in *348 as *prx'n* (H.).

A 7. *qty*, mistake for *qt* or *qtšy* (H.).

A 8. Restore [*qwny cn*] rather than [*qθ'ry wy'*]; *žw'*, mistake for *žw'n* (H.).

A 8 sq. *yw'r[w'n].q'tr* is quoted by Hansen in *A 8 sq. as *yw'r w'n[ ].q'tr*; restore](*s*)*q'tr* (H.).

A 23. Read *xwšd'[rm* " in return, I expressed the wish " (H.).

A 26. *ny (n)[yγwš* " did not obey " (H.).

A 30. " So that no one dare, lightly to . . . (H.). Cf. above, on 134. *γwy'r* is common in B. texts.

The Cult of Kohoṁbā or the Three Sons of Sītā

By C. E. GODAKUMBURA

THERE exists in some parts of Ceylon an occult ceremony called the *Kohoṁbā Yakkama*, which according to tradition was introduced into the island by the three sons of Sītā: Malaya, Kit-Śrī, and Saṅdaliṅdu, among whom Malaya, the flower-born prince, took the leading part. This is the story connected with the first ceremony of its kind.

King Paṇḍuvāsadeva (fifth century B.C.), the successor of Vijaya, the first Āryan king of Ceylon according to the Mahāvaṃsa, a short while after his accession to the throne was visited during his sleep by terrible dreams, in which there appeared to him awful forms of tigers and leopards, and would stay long hours awake in bed. The soothsayers who interpreted his dreams said that it was caused by the misdeed of Vijaya, who violated his promise of marriage to Kuveni, the Yakkha princess. (In this there is a pun on the Sinhalese word *divi*, which means (1) tiger, leopard: Sanskrit and Pali *dīpi*; (2) vow, promise.) All the magical rites known in the country were performed, but they were of no help to ease the mind of the king, and finally the guardian goddess of the king sought the advice of Śakra, who told her that no man born of woman could heal the king, but if a man born of a flower were to perform an occult rite and make the necessary oblations to the gods, the king would immediately recover.

"But where could such a man be found?" asked the goddess.

"In the forests of the Malaya country," said Śakra, "there are three princes. The first of them is Malaya, the prince who was born out of a lotus, the second is Kit-śrī, who was created out of a blade of sacrificial grass, the third is Saṅdaliṅdu, the son of Viṣṇu and Sītā. Take the three of them to Laṅkā if you have the power; if not, take Malaya alone."

When the gods in assembly considered who should go to fetch

[1] The story of Sītā's exile was given fully in the last issue of this Journal.

the princes, Īśvara, the greatest of all the gods, offered to go on the mission. Śakra tested his powers, but was not satisfied. Then Rāhu, the Asura, who was by him, displayed his might by diving into the world of the Nāgas and performing many wonders. Pleased with Rāhu's powers, Śakra entrusted the task to him; and Vīṣṇu granted to him two boons, permission to assume his own guise of the Boar (*sūkara-avatāra*) and immunity against death by fire, water, and weapons. Rāhu then took the guise of a boar, crossed over the oceans, and having reached the city of King Malaya entered his park called Nandā, which he destroyed by uprooting all the valuable trees, even the king's favourite fruit-trees. He then dug a ditch and lay there, leaving only his head above it lest the park-keeper, when he came, should be frightened.

On the following morning the park-keeper came there, and as he gazed horrified at the destruction that had been done, he beheld the boar and instantly fainted. Seeing this, Śakra caused a shower of nectar to fall and brought him back to his senses. He straightway ran to the palace and reported the destruction. The three princes came out, accompanied by all the archers of the city, and surrounded the park in order to catch the boar. Malaya threatened the man who should let the boar escape with a fine of a thousand pieces of gold, but when they gave chase the boar escaped from the very gate which was guarded by him. Ashamed at this, Malaya followed the boar alone. Rāhu passed through many countries, swam across the ocean, landed in Laṅkā at Urātoṭa (the Port of the Boar), and hurried across the island to the forest of Santānē. Malaya reached him there, and drawing his bow with all his might shot a poisoned arrow, only to strike against a rock into which the boar had been transformed.

As Malaya now remained alone, lost in the forest, Śakra appeared to him and said: "Prince Malaya, be not dismayed. All this was a device of ours to bring you here. No man but one born of a flower can heal the king of Laṅkā. We brought you here so that you may perform an occult rite and free King Paṇḍuvāsadeva from the terrible dreams which give him no rest."

Prince Malaya then performed the occult ceremony known as the *Kohoṁbā Yakkama* or *Kohoṁbā Kaṅkāriya*. All the *yakkhas* (*vāddas*) of the country were invited to be present at the festival. A boar was shot and its flesh was divided among the members of the various trades who had gathered there.

Here are some portions of the text in which the story is related at the ceremony :—

1. Siri-lak pura taṁbara
siribara nuvara peti yura
babalana miṇi ayura
säduni isuren Upatissa-pura.

2. Davasaka siri-yahana
sätapuna saṅdehi nidigena
diviyeku se sīnena
dakva pibiduni mahat biya gena.

3. Guṇa nuvaṇa anuvaṇa
karana taruṇan notaruṇa
taruṇa aya notaruṇa
vemin piripata rajuṭa pämuṇuna.

4. E davas asā soṅda
siribara Sak deviṅdu saṅda
käṅdavanṭa Malarada
kiyati mehevarak . . . soṅda.

5. Mehesuru ada pasiṅdu
gennā Rāhu Asuriṅdu
niyamin Sak deviṅdu
lesaṭa bamuṇangen kiv iṅdu.

6. Sāradahas' aṭasiya yodun us' äti
e Rāhu Asuriṅdu ida-bala-ted' äti
tōrā Malaraja uyanaṭa ruv' äti
ūrā vesgena baṭuvayi kiyati.

* * *

7. Sārā nuvara Paṇḍuvas rajuge dividosē
nāra durukarana lesa deviyō siṭiti tosē
āra Vīṣṇu-devi varamin giye melesē
ūru-vēsayen gos eti Rāhu mesē.

* * *

8. Siduru Giri Hari Kujja Bujjaya Kaṃkāla Baṃkāla dēsinē
Bamuṇu Aramaṇa Gavaḍi Kaṇṇaḍi Pañcala Nēpāla dēsinē
kuriru-Kuruṛaṭa Andhāra Gandhāra dēsinē
ruduru-ūrā mūda pīnā avot Yāpāpaṭuna basinē.

9. Gatin vädi bädi sadahasak . . . elavamin rosinē
balan dahasak adina säma urapurā äda Mala-niriňdu edinē
tadin visa pevu karal īyak vidapuvā sena-haṭḍak äsunē
e Santānā-vanehi ūrā gal va giya saňda novī lasinē.

10. Gatā gati novalakā ūreku nisā āvē me Siri-laka soňda
itā mē vaga e tatu nodänama siṭisaňdehi Santāna-vana mäda
patāpava divinetā dakimin avot surapurayen Suriňdu saňda
itā satosin katā melesin kiyati Mala-niriňduṭa emasaňda.

11. Sisī kenekun matuṭa malakin ipida lē bī väḍuna sita sē
disī topa misa vena kenekun näti seyin vesasē
sisī Mala-naraniňduni Paṇḍuvas rajuṭa pat divi dosaṭa melese
disī seta karavana lesaṭa gennuvemi vadahala Suriňdu melesē.

1. " In the prosperous island of Laṅkā flourished the city of Upatissa resplendent in all wealth and appearing like the petals of a lotus.

2. " One day when the king retired to his royal bed and lay asleep he saw in his dream the figure of a tiger and awoke terrified.

3. " Trouble befell the king in this way : goodness appeared to him as evil (and evil as good). Young men appeared to him as old.

4. " On the day the mighty god Śakra heard of it he decided to dispatch a messenger to fetch King Malaya.

5. " Maheśvara summoned Rāhu, the Asura chief and by the command of Śakra, and on behalf of the brahmans he sent him straightway.

6. " They say that the majestic and powerful Asura chief Rāhu, who was four thousand and eight hundred yojanas tall, entered the beautiful park of King Malaya in the guise of a boar.

* * *

7. " The gods were gathered together into the city in order to completely remove the mental sickness of King Paṇḍuvāsadeva. Rāhu went (to the Malaya country) with the boons of Viṣṇu.

* * *

8. " Having passed through all these countries . . . Bengal . . . Karnāṭa, Pañcāla, Nepal, the country of the Kurus, Āndhra,

Gandhāra, the fierce boar came swimming across the ocean and landed at Yāpāpaṭuna.

9. " On that day King Malaya fell into a rage in the forest of Santānē and drove away six thousand väddas. He then drew his bow, which should have been raised by thousand men, and with the sound of thunder he shot forth a poisoned arrow. Struck by it the boar turned into a stone.

10. " When King Malaya remained there in the forest of Santānē, blaming himself that he should have come to the island of Laṅkā for the sake of a boar, the king of the gods (Śakra) came down from heaven and with great joy addressed him thus :

11. " ' We see no other person but you as the man who was born out of a charmed flower and was fed on human blood (milk). Now, King Mala, we brought you here in order that you may remove the troubles which have fallen on King Paṇḍuvāsa.' "

THE CEREMONY

The Kohoṁbā Yakkama, as it is performed to-day, is interwoven with several rites, the original rite, however, forming the main part of the ceremony. The full ceremony takes about eighteen hours to complete. At the beginning of the performance the gods and the three Kohoṁbā princes, Malaya, Kit-śrī, and Saṁdaliṁdu, are called upon to be present. This is followed by an invitation to the väddas. After this a number of local deities are invoked by name. Among a number of stories recited in verse two main ones are the story of Vijaya and Kuveni, including their life in a previous birth, and that of Sītā's exile in the forest. At the end of several minor rites the gods and the väddas are again invoked, and the chief dancer enacts the shooting of the boar. The last item is the shooting of the deer, after which the blessings of the three Kohoṁbā brothers are invoked on the patient and his home in these words :—

Avasara, kappāntarēkaṭa āyubōvanṭa hāmuduruvanē . . . Kit-śrī, Saṁdaliṁdu, Malaya rajjuruvanvahansē, tamunvahansēlā tunkaṭṭuva Sītāpati bisavungē śrī garbhayen lova pahala viya. Tamunvahansēlā Nāgapaṭṭan rusivarayāgē pansalaṭa nuduru tenaka vāsayakarana kālēdī obavahansēlā Laṅkāvaṭa väḍamavanṭa matten Laṅkā-dīpayehi rajakarana Paṇḍuvasdev rajjuruvanṭa dividōṣayak aṭagānī tibena vēlāvaṭa ē dōṣaya durukirīmaṭa Rāhu

Asuriṅdu ūruves mavāgena sat muhuṇdu sāgaren etaravī Malaya-dēśayaṭa gos . . . Upatissapurayaṭa väḍalā häṭa-pā maṇḍuvak kara Kohoṁbā tun-kaṭṭuvaṭa mē keḷi pidēni bārakaralā obava-hansēlā deśayaṭa nävatat väḍama kara vadālayi . . ., emanisā obavahansēlāgē ājñāven ānubhāvayen mē āturayanṭa pämini siyalu dōṣāndhakāraval dhurībhūta-nivāraṇa vēvā ! !

"Hail, may your lives, O Lords, be increased by a thousand kalpas. O Kit-śrī, Saṅdaliṅdu and Malaya, you three brothers were born of the womb of Sītāpati.[1] When you lived not far from the hermitage of the sage of Nāgapaṭṭama, that is, prior to your advent to the island of Laṅkā, Paṇḍuvāsadeva, the king of Laṅkā suffered from the evil effects of violated vows. In order to heal the king, Rāhu, the king of the Asuras, took the guise of a boar, and crossing over the seven oceans he went to the country of Malaya. . . . You came to the city of Upatissa and there erected a hall over sixty pillars and ordained that these oblations should be continued in the name of the three Kohoṁbā brothers. . . . Therefore by your power and majesty may all the misfortunes that have befallen this patient be removed for ever and ever."

Sources

1. MS. from Uḍunuvara, containing the text of the full ceremony as dictated by Hilipatēgedara Silpā of Tirappuva.

2. MS. from Yaṭinuvara, written by Sētuvā of Koṭaligoḍa.

3. MS. from Hatarakōralē, supplied by the village headman of Dunugama-Māliyadda.

4. MS. from Hatarakōralē, written by Galgoḍē Hendrik of Hēvādivela.

5. Kuveni-asna, printed with the Sihabā-asna, Colombo (1927,) called also Maha-asna, British Museum MS. Or. 6611, 209.

6. Sīhabā-asna, printed with the Kuveni-asna, see above.

7. Vijayarāja-kathāva or Kohoṁbā Yakkama, printed in three parts, Kāgalla, 1926.

8. Rājāvaliya, ed. Vatuvattē Pemānanda, Colombo (1926), pp. 19–22; Rājāvaliya, translation by B. Guṇasekhara, Colombo (1900), pp. 18–22.

[1] The miraculous births of Malaya and Kit-śrī are sometimes forgotten, and in the final invocation all three princes have been referred to as Sītā's own sons.

NOTES ON THE TEXT

Verses.

2 (*d*). *dakva* = *dakvā*. gerund from *dakvanavā* shortened *metri causa*.

3 (*d*). *piripata* = Skt. *paripantha*.

4 (*d*). Some word is missing here.

5 (*a*). *ada* doubtful.

6 (*b*). *ida*, Skt. *ṛddhi*, Pali *iddhi*.

7 (*c*). *āra* doubtful.

8 (*a–c*). A list of names of provinces in India and Burma, with no geographical significance.

(*d*). *Yāpā-paṭuna* = modern Jafna in Ceylon. *avot* = *ävit* gerund from *enavā*.

9 (*a*). A word is missing here.

10 (*a*). *gatā gati* = *gati agati* " good and bad " ?

(*b*). *itā* < *hitā* < *sitā*.

11 (*a*). *sisī* ! an exclamation.

Prose passage.

rusi < Skt. *ṛṣi*. The classical Sinhalese form is *isi*.

häṭa-pā. Here *pā* may be from Skt. *pādapa* " tree ", with a secondary meaning " pillar ". In this context with *maḍuvak* it cannot be derived from Skt. *prāsāda*.

The Author of the Hor-chos-ḫbyuṅ

By G. M. ROERICH

G. HUTH, when translating the *Hor-chos-ḫbyuṅ* (*Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, i, Strassburg, 1892), attributed this chronicle to ḫJigs-med nam-mkhaḫ, a high incarnate bLa-ma of the great bLa-braṅ bKra-śis-ḫkhyil monastery in the Amdo Province of North-Eastern Tibet. For over fifty years this attribution remained unchallenged, notwithstanding the fact that it is based on a wrong translation of the Tibetan text of the closing paragraphs of the chronicle. An attentive perusal of the Tibetan text shows that ḫJigs-med nam-mkhaḫ, whose short biography is given on p. 225 of the Tibetan text of the *Hor-chos-ḫbyuṅ* (ed. G. Huth), and on p. 356 of Huth's translation (*Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, ii, 1896), was not the author of the chronicle, but the inspirer of the work which was carried out at ḫJigs-med nam-mkhaḫ's command by Gu-śrī (國師 kuo-shih or State Preceptor) dKaḫ-bcu Su-dhī (Śuddhi) Ā-yu-warta (Āyurvarta), also known by the name of dbYaṅs-can sGeg-paḫi blo-gros ḫJigs-med Rig-paḫi rdo-rje. The author of the chronicle met with ḫJigs-med nam-mkhaḫ during the latter's visit to the Barūn Tümed principality in Eastern Mongolia (see *Hor-chos-ḫbyuṅ*, pp. 227–8). This ḫJigs-med nam-mkhaḫ, better known by his title of Zam-tsha sku-źabs rin-po-che, was one of the "Four Golden Pillars" of bLa-braṅ in Amdo.[1] Soon after A.D. 1803 (chu-phag lo, Water-Hog year) ḫJigs-med nam-mkhaḫ was appointed to the abbot's chair (chos-khri) of the Yung Ho Kung (雍和宮) monastery in Peking. Later he was nominated tamaγa lama (tha-ma-ka bla-ma) of Dolōn-nūr (mTsho-bdun) in Chakhar (E. Mongolia).[2]

The circumstances which accompanied the compilation of the chronicle will be clear from the following translation of pp. 284–5 of the *Hor-chos-ḫbyuṅ* (ed. Huth) :—

Hor-chos-ḫbyuṅ, Tibetan text, pp. 284–5 :—

Chen-po Hor-gyi yul-du Dam-paḫi Chos ji-ltar-byuṅ-baḫi tshul

[1] The other three are Hor-tshaṅ gser-khri, Guṅ-thaṅ gser-khri and sDe-pa-tshaṅ.

[2] Hor-chos-ḫbyuṅ, p. 227 (of the Tibetan text).

bśad-pa bsTan-pa rin-po-che gsal-bar-byed-paḥi sgron-ma źes-bya-ba-ḥdi-ni / yoṅs-rdzogs bstan-pahi mṅaḥ-bdag khri-chen mchog-sprul Zam-tsha sku-źabs rin-po-che rigs-kun-khyab-bdag rDo-rje-ḥchaṅ chen-po ḥJigs-med nam-mkhaḥi źal-sṅa-nas de-ñid raṅ-reḥi Thu-med śog-gi bstan-paḥi sbyin-bdag chen-po Peḥi-se no-yon-gyi dgon-par gdan-ḥdren źus-pa ltar phebs-paḥi skabs-su ṅos-kyis mjal-bar / rJe-ñid-kyi źal-nas khyod-kyis Hor-yul-du rgyal-rabs daṅ rGyal-baḥi bstan-pa ji-ltar dar-tshul-gyi rnam-gźag Bod-kyi yi-ge daṅ Sog-poḥi yi-ge gñis-kas rtsoms-śig-paḥi gsuṅ-gi me-tog spyi-bor lhuṅ-ba-la / ṅos-kyis de-dag-gi khuṅs rtsad-gcod dkaḥ-bas mi-thub-pa-ḥdra źus-par / thub-mod ḥbri-dgos ces-paḥi gsuṅ lci-ba lan gñis gnaṅ-ba daṅ-du blaṅs-te / don-gyi slad-du mtshan-nas smos-te Paṇ-chen thams-cad mkhyen-pa bLo-bzaṅ dpal-ldan ye-śes dbaṅ-poḥi źal-sha-nas daṅ / ḥJam-dbyaṅs chos-kyi rgyal-po rJe-btsun dKon-mchog ḥJigs-med dbaṅ-po yab-sras-kyi źabs-rdul spyi-boḥi rgyan-du ḥdzin-paḥi btsun-gzugs-kyi na-ba Gu-śrī dkaḥ-bcu Su-dhī Ā-yu wartaḥam miṅ-gźan dbYaṅs-can sGeg-paḥi blo-gros ḥJig-med Rig-paḥi rdo-rje ḥbod-pas / Hor-gyi rgyal-rabs-rnams-ni Hwo-thog-thaḥi se-chen hwoṅ Thaḥi-ciḥi sku-tsha Se-chen Sa-snaṅ thaḥi-cis mdzad-paḥi rGyal-brgyud-kyi gtam Me-tog-gi tshoms mthoṅ-ba don-ldan sogs Hor-gyi yig-cha-rnams-la gźir-bźag / bsTan-pa rin-po-che rgyas-par-mdzad-paḥi skyes-mchog-rnams-kyi rnam-par-thar-pa ni Bod-kyi mkhas-grub-dam-pa-rnams-kyis mdzad-paḥi Legs-bśad-dag-las śin-tu ñuṅ-bar bsdus-te / rab-byuṅ bcu-bźi-paḥi legs-sbyar-gyi skad-du Pra-mā-dī / bSil-ldan-gyi ljoṅs-su Myos-ldan / Ma-hā-tsi-naḥi yul-du Gyi-maḥu źes-paḥi sa-yos loḥi khrums zla-baḥi dkar-phyogs-kyi dGaḥ-ba gsum-paḥi ñin bKra-śis dGaḥ-ldan bśad-sgrub-gliṅ-du rdzogs-par-sbyar-baḥi yi-ge-pa ni Gu-śrī bLo-bzaṅ legs-bśad dar-rgyas daṅ Gu-śrī Legs-bśad chos-ḥdzin gñis-kyis bgyis-pa ḥdis-kyaṅ bsTan-pa rin-po-che phyogs-dus kun-tu dar-źiṅ rgyas-la yun-riṅ-du gnas-pa daṅ / skye-ḥgro mthaḥ-dag-la phan-pa rgya-chen-po ḥbyuṅ-bar-gyur-cig /

"This Account of the Origin of the Holy Doctrine (Dam-paḥi chos) in the country of Great Mongolia (Chen-po Hor-gyi yul), called the 'Lamp illuminating the Precious Doctrine of the Jina' (rGyal-baḥi bstan-pa rin-po-che gsal-bar-byed-paḥi sgron-ma—this is the real title of the chronicle. *Hor-chos-ḥbyuṅ* is a sub-title marked on the pages of the original xylograph) / was compiled in the following circumstances / : When the Lord of the Entire

Doctrine (yoṅs-rdzogs bstan-pahi mṅaḥ-bdag), Khri-chen,[1] the excellent manifestation (mchog-sprul), the Precious Lord Zam-tsha,[2] the Lord pervading (khyab-bdag) all the (five) families (rigs, kula) of (divine beings),[3] the great Vajradhara, His Holiness ḥJigs-med nam-mkhaḥ came on invitation to the monastery of the Peḥi-se no-yon (beyise noyan—title of the Tümed prince), the great alms-giver (sbyin-bdag) of the Doctrine of our Thu-med (Tümed) principality,[4] I presented myself (before him) and the Lord (rJe) himself said to me: 'You should compile in the Tibetan and Mongol languages a detailed account (rnam-gźag) of the Royal Lineage (rGyal-rabs) of Mongolia, and of the spread of the Doctrine of the Jina.' The flowers of his words having fallen on my head, I respectfully remarked: 'that it would seem to be impossible for me to do it, because of the difficulty of investigating the origins.' (The Lord) having stressed twice: 'You can do it! Do write it!' I accepted (his) command. I, named Gu-śrī (kuo-shih) dkaḥ-bcu[5] Su-dhī (Śuddhi) Ā-yu-warta (Āyurvarta), also called dbYaṅs-can sGeg-paḥi blo-gros ḥJig-med Rig-paḥi rdo-rje, a humble priest (btsun gzugs-kyi na-ba), keeping as head ornament the dust of the feet of the great mahā-paṇḍita (paṇ-chen), the All-knowing (Thams-cad mkhyen-pa) His Holiness bLo-bzaṅ dPal-ldan Ye-śes dbaṅ-po (the Third Paṇ-chen bLa-ma of bKra-śis lhun-po, A.D. 1740–1780), whose name I (dare) to mention in this connection (the Paṇ-chen bLo-bzaṅ dPal-ldan Ye-śes was the upādhyāya of the author, hence the latter's reluctance to mention his name), and ḥJam-dbyaṅs Chos-kyi rgyal-po rJe-btsun dKon-mchog ḥJigs-med dbaṅ-po (the second ḥJam-dbyaṅs bźad-pa of bKra-śis-ḥkhyil, 1728–1791), father and son (i.e. Teacher and disciple), have based (my account) of the Royal Lineage (rGyal-rabs) of Mongolia on Mongol written sources, such as the 'Story of the Royal Line' (rGyal-brgyud-kyi gtam) compiled by Se-chen Sa-snaṅ thaḥi-ci (Sečin Sanaŋ / ~ Saγaŋ/tayiji/太子 t'ai-tzŭ/), the great grandson of Hwo-thog-thaḥi Se-chen Hwoṅ-thaḥi-ci (Qutuγtai Sečin quŋtayiji/皇太子

[1] This is the title of the abbot of the dGe-ldan monastery in dbUs (Central Tibet); the previous incarnation of ḥJigs-med nam-mkhaḥ was as abbot of dGe-ldan. See Hor-chos-ḥbyuṅ, i, p. 225; ii, p. 336 (translation).

[2] Zam-tsha, n. of a locality in Amdo.

[3] Vajra-kula, Ratna-kula, Padma-kula, Karma-kula, and Buddha-kula.

[4] The Tibetan *śog* translates regularly the Mongol *qušiγūn*, principality.

[5] A learned degree conferred on monks who have successfully passed the examination in philosophy or mtshan-ñid.

huang t'ai-tzŭ/) of the Ordos, b. 1540–d. 1586),[1] the 'Bunch of Flowers worthy to be seen' (the Me-tog-gi tshoms mthoṅ-ba don-ldan is the γayiqamsiγ-a üjegdekü ceceg-ün comurliγ šastir quoted by Saγaŋ Sečin. See p. 298 (Mongol text) and p. 299 (translation) of I. J. Schmidt's edition) and others. As regards the Biographies (rnam-thar) of Saints (skyes-mchog, parama-puruṣa), who had spread the Precious Doctrine, I have made a short summary of the writings of Tibetan scholars and saints. (The text of the present work) was copied at the (monastery) of bKra-śis dGe-ldan bśad-grub-gliṅ by two expert copyists (yi-ge-pa) Gu-śrī bLo-bzaṅ Legs-bśad Dar-rgyas and Gu-śrī Legs-bśad Chos-ḥdzin, on the day of the third dGaḥ-ba (the 11th day) of the bright half of the Moon of the month of Bhādrapada (Khrums, the 8th month of the Tibetan year) of the year Earth-Hare (sa-yos—A.D. 1819) called Gyi-mahu (己 卯 chi-mao) in the country of Ma-hā-tsi-na (Mahācīna, China), Pra-mā-dī (Pramāthin) in the Sanskrit language (Legs-sbyar-kyi skad) and Myos-ldan in the Himavat (bSil-ldan, i.e. Tibet, of the XIVth Cycle *prab-byun*). May this cause the Precious Doctrine to spread towards all quarters, may it last for a long time, and may great benefit arise for all living beings."

The author of the chronicle *ḥJig-med Rig-paḥi rdo-rje* seems to have been the well-known Thu-med lo-tsā-ba whose incarnation still exists among the Incarnate Lamas of bLa-braṅ in Amdo (my thanks are due to the Rev. dGe-ḥdun Chos-ḥphel, of bLa-braṅ bKra-śis-ḥkhyil, for this suggestion).

His work is a compilation based on earlier Tibetan chronicles, such as the Deb-ther sṅon-po by ḥGos lo-tsā-ba gŹon-nu-dpal (compiled in A.D. 1476), the bKra-śis-ḥkhyil-gyi gDan-rabs or "Lineage of the Abbots of bKra-śis-hkhyil" by dPal-maṅ Paṇḍita (a contemporary of the Second ḥJam-dbyaṅs bźad-pa), and on some of the larger historical compilations of the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, such as the rGya-nag chos-ḥbyuṅ composed by Guṅ mGon-po-skyabs (sKad-bźi smra-baḥi dge-bsñen mGon-po-skyabs—a well-known Mongol scholar and contemporary of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung), and the Grub-mthaḥ thams-cad-kyi khuṅs daṅ ḥdod-tshul ston-pa Legs-bśad Śel-gyi me-loṅ compiled in

[1] A. Mostaert: Ordosica. Bull. of the Catholic University, Peking, No. 9 (November, 1934), pp. 60 ff. This is the chronicle published and translated by I. J. Schmidt under the title of "Geschichte der Ost Mongolen", St. Petersburg, 1829.

A.D. 1801 [1] by Thu-kwan bLo-bzaṅ Chos-kyi ñi-ma (1737–1802). Several pages of the *Hor-chos-ḥbyuṅ* are completely borrowed from the last named work. In the absence of translations of other Mongol and Tibetan chronicles and historical compilations the work of ḥJig-med Rig-paḥi rdo-rje remains our chief source of information on the history of Buddhism in Mongolia.

[1] And not in A.D. 1742 as stated by Ligeti in his *Rapport Préliminaire d'un voyage d'exploration fait en Mongolie Chinoise*, 1928–1931, Budapest, 1933, p. 57. There exist three editions of this important work: the first at dGon-luṅ Byams-pa-gliṅ, the second at sDe-dge dgon-chen, and the third at Lha-sa.

Kingship and Enthronement in Malaya

By R. O. WINSTEDT

SINCE I wrote a paper on the above (*JRAS.*, 1945) I have received programmes of the installations of the present Sultan of Selangor in January, 1939, and the present Sultan of Perak in March, 1939.

In Selangor the Sultan and his consort first went in procession to a nine-tiered *pañca-prasāda*, where the three oldest members of the royal house anointed them with rice-paste. After that their Highnesses were bathed by five senior daughters of the Sultan, and the Chief Kathi recited prayers. Next the couple changed their apparel and proceeded to the palace hall, where the Sultan took a modern oath in Malay to rule justly and the Ruler and his consort were then crowned, a present-day innovation, as the crown is foreign to Malays. The throne was surrounded by four sons of the Sultan, eight attendants, sixteen candle-bearers, sixteen carrying cloths on right and left of their Highnesses. After all present had cried " Long live the Sultan ", the senior chief recited :—

The father of the Raja is the religion of the Prophet ;
The mother of the Raja is custom and customary law ;
The brothers of the Raja are his officers of high and low degree ;
The children of the Raja are his people ;
For the Raja is as it were without parents or offspring ;
His own child he must put down from his lap
But even the monkeys of the forest are his care ;
If the Raja heed not these truths, the country will perish.

After that the chiefs paid homage. Prayers were read. The ceremony ended. Then the Sultan went in procession round his capital. The second and third day after his installation the Sultan went in procession to visit the tombs of his ancestors. Sports, illuminations, prayers at the mosque and feasting lasted throughout the week.

In Perak considerable changes have been made by way of compromise between old and new. No mention is made of formal or public lustration or of anointing. The ceremony began with a feast at the mosque, while the Sultan listened to prayers for the

souls of past Sultans. On the next day, Friday, chiefs, headmen, and religious leaders paid their respects to His Highness and accompanied him to the mosque. On Saturday the Sultan sat enthroned with the regalia before him. The Raja Kechil Muda handed him the royal neck-chain, the dragon armlets, and the State sword. The Sri Nara 'diraja then gave His Highness the ball of petrified dew (*guliga ĕmbun*), placed the thunder seal behind His Highness's right ear, and whispered the State secret. In place of the *chiri* the Sultan read a modern oath in Malay and signed it. He then drew the State sword and kissed the blade; ensheathed again it was put on His Highness's right shoulder. The British Governor read the proclamation announcing the installation. Those present cried "Long life" and the Mufti read prayers. On Sunday His Highness drove to the polo-ground and received addresses from the various communities. On Monday the Sultan's consort was installed. On Tuesday one of each rank of chiefs paid homage, and at 9.15 came enthronement of the State Genies (*tabal Jin*). Regalia and State drums were placed before the throne and anointed by the State medicine-man (*pawang Raja*) and six chiefs. The Sri Nara 'diraja presented the State sword and dragon armlets to the Sultan and snake (*lidi*) armlets to his consort. Their Highnesses sat enthroned and were anointed with rice-paste. The Mufti recited prayers. The next day the Sultan installed several chiefs.

It is a pity that modern adaptation has destroyed the symbolism of the ancient ritual.

Brahui et Tsigane

By JULES BLOCH

SI l'on ignorait que le brahui est une langue dravidienne, ce n'est pas la conjugaison du présent verbal qui le révélerait. En voici les désinences (Bray, §§ 202–3) :—

Sg.	Pl.
-iv, -ēv	*-in, -ēn*
-is, -ēs	*-ire, -ēre*
-e, -ē	*-ir, -ēr*

Qu'il suffise de mettre en regard le paradigme des langues qui lui sont le plus proches, le gondi (prétérit, d'après Ch. Trench, Gr. of Gondi, p. 15) :

Sg.	Pl.
-ān	*-ām* (incl. *-at*)
-ī	*-īṭ*
m. *-ul*, nt. zéro	m. *-ŭr*, nt. *-ŭng*

et le kurukh (d'après A. Grignard, Gr. of the Oraon language, pp. 68–9) :

Sg.		Pl.
m. *-an*, nt. *-en*		*-am* (incl. *-at*)
-ai	*-dī*	*-ar*
-as	*-ī, -ā*	*-ar*

pour se rendre compte que, sauf aux 2e et 3e personnes du pluriel, le système est différent.

Le brahui est tout pénétré d'iranien. Faut-il mettre en cause ses voisins, le baloutchi ou l'afghan ? L'hypothèse se heurte à l'impossibilité d'une désinence en *-s* à la 2e p. sing. en iranien. Il faut donc se tourner vers l'indien qui a fourni des éléments assez nombreux au brahui, surtout à vrai dire en ce qui concerne le vocabulaire.

Mais les langues indiennes proches et notamment le sindhi et le lahnda ne fournissent rien qui ressemble au *-v* de 1e personne ou à l'*-s* de la seconde (IndAr., pp. 245–47). Une seule langue indo-aryenne les présente : c'est le tsigane d'Europe (Sampson, p. 187).

La concordance ne va pas plus loin : tsig. 3e sg. *-el* comme nuri *-ar* remonte à **-aδi*, skr. *-ati* ; d'autre part à la 1e pl. le tsigane européen a *-as* (skr. *-āmasi*), le nuri *-an*. Cette contradiction rappelle

que le tsigane n'est pas uniforme et comporte des dialectes dont tous ne sont pas connus, surtout sous leur forme ancienne. En tout cas le témoignage des deux premières personnes paraît sûr.

Un détail le confirme. La forme ci-dessus décrite du présent brahui est un présent indéfini " qu'on appellerait peut être à juste titre un subjonctif présent " (Bray, § 309 s.). Par la suffixation de *-a* on en fait un présent d'habitude ou un futur (§ 206), du moins en ce qui concerne le singulier aux 1e et 2e personnes :

	Sg.	Pl.
(1)	*-iva*	*-ina*
(2)	*-isa*	*-ire*
(3)	(*-ik*)	*-ira*

Or le présent du tsigane européen a deux formes, l'une courte, celle décrite ci-dessus, et une forme longue obtenue par suffixation de *-a* : soit *-ava -esa*, etc. Voici ce qu'en dit Sampson, § 389 : " Les formes courte et longue s'emploient indifféremment à l'indicatif présent ; au futur la longue est normale ; au subjonctif seule la courte est admise." On peut résumer en disant qu'ici comme en brahui, la suffixation de *-a* fait d'un éventuel un présent réel et un futur.

Ce *-a* est malheureusement inexpliqué ; mais il y a des analogues en indo-aryen (IndAr., p. 288 ; en tsigane même, le nuri de Palestine emploie la forme courte en subordonnée, la longue avec suffixe *-i* en principale. Macalister, *Lang. of the Nawar*, p. 27) ; le dravidien n'en fournit pas.

Quant au rapprochement entre le brahui, ceinturé aujourd'hui par l'iranien au Balouchistan, et un groupe aussi lointain que le tsigane d'Europe, l'histoire n'y contredit pas. On sait que les parlers tsiganes proviennent des confins occidentaux de l'Inde et d'autre part que le baloutchi et l'afghan sont venus de l'Ouest et n'ont été apportés qu'au moyen âge là où on les trouve aujourd'hui.

Rien n'empêche donc de penser que le brahui et le tsigane ont été en contact. Si l'on admet que la migration tsigane date peut-être du VIIe siècle, et au plus tard de la fin du IXe (Sampson, *JGLS.*, 3d Series, ii, 157–8), on peut en conclure que le brahui, quel que soit son site ancien, est en place, ou à très peu près, depuis plus d'un millier d'années.

Ceci permet d'expliquer un détail de l'histoire du nom du blé. Aucune des formes tsiganes (européen *giv*, arménien et égyptien *gihu*, palestinien *gĕsū*) ne remonte à iranien *gandum* ; elles remontent

à skr. *godhūma-*. La forme européenne n'est pas celle qu'on attendrait, à savoir **kholum* (cf. *khul*, gallois *ful* de skr. *gūtha* ; v. Sampson, Vocabulary, p. 101) ; elle est empruntée à un parler du type de ceux de l'Hindoustan. Le mot qu'on attend a dû exister, c'est le brahui qui le conserve : *χolum* (cf. *JGLS.*, 3rd Series, vii, 112 n. ; corriger Ind Ar., p. 18) ; il n'est pas étonnant, vu leurs mœurs, qu'ils aient pris le mot à leurs voisins, ni que de façon générale, leur vocabulaire végétal et agricole se reconnaisse presque entièrement pour indien ou iranien et soit pour le reste sans rapport visible avec le dravidien (Jamiat Rai, *Notes on... the Brahui lang.*[2], pp. 7–9 ; cf. Bray, *Brahui Lang.*, ii, p. 16).

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

THE ANCESTRY OF THE HARKLEAN TESTAMENT. By G. ZUNZ. (British Academy Supplemental Papers No. VII), pp. 127. Humphrey Milford. 12*s*. 6*d*.

To say the worst first: much of this book is written in a jargon which is not English, there is a mistake in the Syriac, mistakes in transliteration, a misprint in the title of a book, and two misprints in the Syriac. The author is fond of showing his learning by introducing tags from foreign languages and has ransacked the English dictionary for long words. He proves (what was known before) that White's edition is not Philoxenian and ignores the few pages published by Hall. Quotations in secular authors support the old view that the Harklean is a revision of the Philoxenian. The second part of the book deals with the critical apparatus which goes under the name of Euthalius. It is shown that this apparatus formed part of the Harklean version and was designed to make it easier for men of little learning to read the Bible intelligently. The text is of the Cæsarean type. This is a valuable bit of work, but even here the author has gone out of his way to make things difficult for his readers.

A. S. TRITTON.

STUDIA SEMITICA ET ORIENTALIA, Vol. II. (Presentation Volume to William Barron Stevenson.) Edited by C. J. MULLO WEIR, pp. 140. Glasgow University Oriental Society, 1945. 21*s*.

It was a graceful act of the Glasgow University Oriental Society to celebrate the 75th birthday of Professor Stevenson by presenting him with this volume. The essays range from the background of the Old Testament to Arabic studies in this island in the eighteenth century. In Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* the Horites have a third of a column; here under the name Hurrians they have an essay to themselves and their laws can be compared to those of the Hebrews. Another article is on legal fictions in Jewish law; there is a list of fictions with explanations how they work. The author makes the point that only one concerns the law of Moses as opposed

to Rabbinic law. Though awake to the dangers in fiction, he believes that it has its place in Judaism because the Mosaic law and those Rabbinic laws which serve as a " hedge " to it cannot be changed and the conditions under which other laws might be changed are too strict for such change to be possible. No modern Sanhedrin would be conceited enough to claim to be wiser than its predecessors. A *Book of Hours* in Palestinian Syriac is attractive from several points of view. The reconstruction of early Greek hymns is a pleasant pastime. Dr. Bell contributes an addendum to his *Islam in its Christian Environment* by summarizing Muhammad's knowledge of the Old Testament, showing that he got some wrong ideas which he afterwards discarded. Dr. Robson contributes a catalogue of oriental manuscripts in the library of Glasgow University.

A. S. TRITTON.

LA BERBÉRIE ORIENTALE SOUS LES ḤAFṢIDES, Vol. I. By R. BRUNSCHVIG. pp. 476. (Publications de l'institut d'études orientales d'Alger, viii.) Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1940.

When the Almohade empire grew too big, the caliph made one of his lieutenants governor of Tunis. This man's son made himself independent and called himself caliph when the Mongols destroyed the Baghdad caliphate and the Almohade was too weak to protest. The author has told the story of this state well. In his telling the usual bloody politics of an eastern state become almost interesting and the relations with the Christian powers of Europe are set out clearly. Many oddities emerge; the Muslim paid tribute to the ruler of Sicily and the king of Aragon appointed the commander of the Christian mercenaries in Ifriqiya. Scholars and others from Muslim Spain found a refuge there. In addition to the political history this volume contains a long discussion on the Muslim population; how far they were Arabs or Berbers and what language they spoke. Descriptions of the chief towns are as full as the sources permit. There was a difference between Jews and Christians; Jews had always been in the land and were a part of the state as *dhimmis* and were important middlemen in dealings with Christian states. The Christians were new arrivals, foreign merchants, consuls, or mercenaries serving in the Muslim army. These merchants had

their churches and rang the bells! A Jew had collected books on logic to take to Europe; export was held up till Muslim doxologies had been expunged. The book is comprehensive and readable; perhaps it is a little verbose. We look forward to the second volume.

A. S. TRITTON.

KITĀB JĀMIʿ AL-ALFĀẒ OF DAVID BEN ABRAHAM AL-FĀSĪ, Vol. 2. Ed. by S. L. SKOSS. (Yale Oriental Series: Researches, vol. xxi.) pp. clx + 756. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945. $12.

David ben Abraham, a Karaïte, wrote in Arabic a dictionary of Biblical Hebrew in two versions, a longer and a shorter. The longer survives only in fragments and this volume completes the publication of the shorter form. Much of the longer version is quoted in the notes and there are indices of passages quoted from the Bible, later Hebrew books, and from the Masora, of grammatical terms in Arabic and Hebrew, and of names and subjects. In a way the dictionary has no scientific value as it was written before the theory of triliteral roots was established. A root like *YGH* is held to consist of one letter. In other ways the book is valuable and interesting. Naturally a number of Arabic words are to be found in Dozy's dictionary only. There are many curiosities. Solomon made a brazen cauldron, turned it upside down, and stood on it to be above the congregation. Ephod and teraphim are explained as astrolabes for the astronomers. Sheshak is a name for Baghdad and is derived from the Arabic *shawwasha* to confuse. (The common explanation is that it is a cypher for Babel made by reading the alphabet backwards.) His soul was grieved for the misery of Israel (Judges x, 16, R.V.); some explained this as "his anger was short", others, "his mercy was slight," and others applied the pronoun to Israel; "I shall not waste time in refuting them." Moses took a Cushite wife (Numbers xii, 1). Cushite means beautiful; Moses was criticized for deserting his wife; he had a good excuse because he could not care for the interests of the people and also pay attention to women. Professor Skoss is to be congratulated on the completion of a heavy task.

A. S. TRITTON.

PROBLÈMES DU LIVRE D'HABACUC. Par PAUL HUMBERT. Neuchatel, 1944, pp. 303.

I have enjoyed reading this book. Its novelty of method, logical arrangement, and carefully drawn conclusions, make it of surpassing interest. Habakkuk wrote little, but enough to create some difficult problems. Professor Humbert surveys the works of earlier commentators; refuses to admit that their method [1] of cutting the book to pieces is legitimate or necessary; and offers a solution of his own. Jehoiakim is the enemy of the righteous throughout. If Professor Humbert's interpretation of ii, 5*b* can stand he has established his thesis: his explanation requires us to believe that Jehoiakim enrolled many of the surrounding peoples in an attempt to resist the Babylonians. This is intrinsically probable, but we have no record elsewhere of his having done so. However, if we accept this interpretation the problems of the book disappear under Professor Humbert's treatment.

A valuable feature is the exhaustive examination of Habakkuk's vocabulary in relation to those parts of the Old Testament which can be dated. The textual notes are excellent, especially where the LXX is invoked. ii, 6*b*, which the RV. renders: "Woe to him that increaseth that which is not his! How long? and that ladeth himself with pledges" he alters [2] to "Malheur à celui qui multiplie des impôts sur celui qui est en détresse et qui fait peser sur lui un gage" by reading לְאָלוּץ מַדּוּת for לֹא לוֹ עַד מָתַי. But the parallelism is defective; and I suggest that for עַדְמָתַי we should read עֲרֻבָּתוֹ and insert a ל (implied by the LXX) before לֹא.

The line would then read: "Woe to him who exacteth a great pledge from him who has nothing, and demandeth a weighty guarantee from him." This emendation involves practically no change in MT. as *d* and *r* and *b* and *m* are frequently confused.

I notice a small misprint in the Hebrew on p. 50 (*t* for *ṭ*), and I venture to question whether the suggested reading of iii, 10, *dam wenissa shemesh* is probable or could mean "muet le soleil se lève".

This commentary should form a model for future commentators on the Old Testament. The author's refusal to succumb to the temptation to amputate and transpose the text, and his masterly

[1] *The Century Bible* (S. R. Driver) is an honourable exception.

[2] Rejecting Ehrlich's עַד מוֹתוֹ and G. R. Driver's עֵר חֲמָתוֹ.

exposition of the structure and meaning of the prophet's message make this work a most valuable contribution to Old Testament study.

ALFRED GUILLAUME.

Middle East

AL INGLĪZ KAMĀ 'ARAFTUHUM (ENGLAND AND THE ENGLISH PEOPLE), Vol. I. By AMIN AL-MUMAYYIZ. pp. 312. Baghdad: Railway Press, 1944. Dinar 1.

The author says that he first wrote this book in English, but shortage of paper held up publication. One does not understand why it should have been written in English, though in Arabic it should be very useful. The title describes it exactly; it is a description of the English. If parts of it are only a guide to manners, e.g. what to do with a napkin at the end of a meal, the rest is a careful account of English institutions and the national character, including the reputation for hypocrisy. The objects of this study can learn from it. In places the judgments seem too favourable. Mistakes are few; it is implied that two rings are essential to a legal marriage. Any foreigner, who reads this book before coming to England, will save himself perplexity and trouble.

A. S. TRITTON.

MODERN PERSIAN POETRY. By M. ISHAQUE. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xix + 226. Calcutta, 1943.

Dr. Ishaque has followed up his valuable anthology of modern Persian poets (2 vols., Calcutta, 1933, 1937) with a general analysis and critical estimate of the poetry written in Iran during the present century, and more particularly since the end of the last war. His new book is largely based on the thesis which he successfully submitted for his Ph.D. at London, where he had the advantage of working under Professor Minorsky. There are a few signs that the text has not been fully modernized; as at page 142, where he writes as though Riza Shah Pahlavi were still on the throne. Dr. Ishaque has given us an excellent work of reference, not perhaps of the same quality as E. G. Browne's *Poetry and Press of Modern Persia*, but nevertheless quite unique in its field and compiled with

great care and thought. In a brief review it is not possible to discuss the many interesting points which are raised by this volume, such for instance as the real significance of the modern movements in Persian poetry, and the comparative importance of the poets mentioned. It must suffice to say that Dr. Ishaque has written a thought-provoking book, and deserves the gratitude of scholars for filling a gap in the range of modern research.

A. J. ARBERRY.

Far East

BULLETIN OF THE MUSEUM OF FAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES, STOCKHOLM, No. 14 (1942), No. 15 (1943), No. 16 (1944), No. 17 (1945).

These *Bulletins* are more than usually welcome, since their arrival has been so long delayed by war conditions.

Apart from an article in No. 14 by Dr. Osvald Sirén on Chinese sculpture of the Sung, Liao, and Chin dynasties the four volumes are the work of Professors J. Gunnar Andersson and Bernhard Karlgren. The latter presents in Nos. 14, 16, and 17 the results of an exhaustive study (to be completed in Bulletin No. 18) of the Book of Odes. It includes line-by-line glosses on each poem, with critical evaluation of the different interpretations proposed by Chinese commentators and foreign translators, and a new translation of the whole, designed "as a guide for the sinological student who desires to understand accurately every line in a philological way".

Professor Karlgren's other writings serve the archæologists. In Bulletin No. 14 he discusses the dating of the culture represented by early types of the bronze drums of South-East Asia, in which he recognizes affinities with the "Huai" style of decoration. In the same number he supplements his earlier studies of fecundity symbols in ancient China by observations that point to the derivation of a decorative element on early bronzes and of the caps of the columns on *chüeh* and *chia* vessels from symbols of a prehistoric phallic cult. In No. 16 he studies the possibility of grouping certain bronzes as the work of individual bronze masters, while No. 17 contains an article on weapons and tools from An-yang.

Professor Andersson has articles in Nos. 14 and 17, but his principal contribution is his *Researches into the Prehistory of the Chinese*, which occupies the whole of No. 15, comprising more than

300 pages of text and 200 plates. In addition to a comprehensive summary of the author's field work in palæontology and archæology there are chapters co-ordinating material from the various sites and others dealing with special topics such as burial customs, chronology, and a comparison of the Yang-shao culture with that of historical China.

S. HOWARD HANSFORD.

THE FAR EAST MUST BE UNDERSTOOD. H. VAN STRAELEN, S.V.D. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 126 + xv. London: Luzac and Co., 1945. 10*s.* 6*d.*

People in the West still see the East from the viewpoint of the pulpit of the missionary, the counting house of the merchant, the study of the diplomat, or the fleeting vision of the journalist. Too often these viewpoints base their judgments on reactions to immediate contacts and their prejudices on the contrast between an ill understood East and an idealized West.

As an aid to better appreciation of the real situation comes this book, *The Far East Must be Understood.* Its author emphasizes the need for training of all proceeding to the Far East so that they have some degree of understanding of the society in which they must live and work. His plan for training of diplomats is too extreme to find favour, but he is right to stress the need for learning the real life of the country away from the town. His last chapter, "Towards a Bibliography," is the most valuable part of the book, for here the newcomer will find, conveniently collected together, a selection of many of the best writers on Far Eastern subjects from whom he can obtain a reliable background to his work and an introduction to the life of the people around.

T. J. LINDSAY.

MALAY FISHERMEN: THEIR PEASANT ECONOMY. By RAYMOND FIRTH. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 354 + xvi, 3 plates. London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1946. 25*s.*

The author of this elaborate survey of fishing communities in Kelantan, Trengganu, and the north of Pahang had in mind four points; the need for much more attention to the peasant fishing

industry in the tropics ; the need for economic study of the industry ; the need to base generalizations on systematic intensive research ; the need for collaboration between the theoretical apparatus of the economist and the field technique of the anthropologist. This very useful book is the fruit of that vision. And the writer has stuck almost too rigidly to his theme, rejecting the spice of charms and magic that might have made economics palatable to a larger circle of readers. But though technology falls outside his aim, pp. 42–9 give the various types of fishing-boat. And pp. 290–2, for example, will be welcomed by all interested in Malay sociology and in the modern attitude towards those Muslim taxes, *zakat* and *fitrah*. This authoritative book should be in the hands of all responsible for the economic future of the Malay, a problem of equal urgency with his political future in a country where he, the son of the soil, accounts for less than half the population.

R. O. Winstedt.

India

Iqbal : His Art and Thought. By Syed 'Abdul Vāhid. pp. 265, 3 plates. Lahore : Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf. London : Luzac and Co., 1944. 14*s*.

An admirer, in this work, sets out to deal with the career, literary achievements and outlook on life of Sir Muhammad Iqbal. The result is a clear, and at times very interesting, account of certain aspects of Iqbal's life and thought and of the sources of his inspiration, together with unqualified eulogy of the kind which declares that " there is no more versatile, prolific, and gifted genius in history " than the author's hero. He is in fact the criterion by which the classics are judged. So, for example, " Nowhere is . . . so much stress laid on Love as a factor in the development of human personality . . . as in Iqbal. The nearest approach . . . is perhaps the great mystic poet, Maulāna Rūmī " (p. 48) ; " Iqbal and Rūmī agree in preaching a life of ceaseless activity " (p. 97) ; Jīlī " like Iqbal combined in himself poetical imagination and philosophical genius " (p. 102). Where such standards prevail it is not surprising to find talk of European materialism as contrasted with the idealism of the Orient, or of the " baneful influence " which Plato and the neo-Platonists (*sic*) " exercised on human progress ".

R. Levy.

ANWAR NĀMA OF ABJADI. Edited by MUHAMMAD HUSAYN MAHVI. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. viii, xi, 408, 8, 24, 8, 8. Madras University Islamic Series, No. 8. University of Madras, 1944. Rs. 10.

Abjadī was a prolific versifier of eighteenth century India, poet laureate of the Carnatic ruler Wālā-Jāh and tutor to his successor 'Umdat al-Umarā'. In the *Anwar-nāma*, which runs to about 7,000 verses, he has for his chief theme the military exploits of Anwar al-Dīn Khān and the struggle between Wālā-Jāh and the French to the conquest of Pondicherry. The editor, who calls this " one of the most interesting and remarkable Persian works in poetry ", apparently used a copy in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library; five other copies are known, including one at Calcutta transcribed very shortly after the poem was completed, but collation would be hardly worth while. Not all will share Mr. Muhammad Husayn Mahvi's enthusiasm for the epic, though it is undeniably entertaining in parts. It is stated that the poet received Rs. 6,700 for his pains, and one would say that he might be well content with that. The editor is in error when he says that Abjadī's Urdu *dīwān* is not available; there is a copy in the India Office. The text is well printed and is provided with careful indices.

A. J. ARBERRY.

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS, 1757–1858. Edited by A. C. BANERJEE. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxv + 344. Calcutta, 1945.

This volume contains a useful collection of documents covering the constitutional development of the East India Company from the conquest of Bengal to the assumption of control by the Crown. It should be read in conjunction with the documents already published in Ramsay Muir's *Making of British India*, 1917; P. Mukherji's *Indian Constitutional Documents*, 1918; and A. B. Keith's *Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy*, 1922.

Mr. Banerjee's volume will have served a useful purpose if it encourages the student to consult C. U. Aitchison's *Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads*, 13 vols., 1909; Gleig's *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, 3 vols., 1841; the *Cornwallis Correspondence* edited by C. Ross, 3 vols., 1859; Montgomery Martin's *Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley*, 5 vols., 1836–7; and Ilbert's *Government of India*, 1915.

Mr. Banerjee's excerpts, so far as I have been able to check them, appear to be accurate. On p. xi, it should be Monson's death, not Clavering's, which allowed Hastings to exercise his casting vote. There is some excuse for this as it is a historical inaccuracy which has been perpetuated in successive editions of Ilbert's *Government of India* published by the Clarendon Press. It seems rather unfair to include an excerpt from Burke's Speech at the Impeachment of Warren Hastings without quoting a single sentence from the speeches in his defence.

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

INDISCHES MITTELALTER . . . WALTER RUBEN. (Istanbuler Schriften, Nr. 3.) pp. i, 159. Istanbul (Zurich-New York : Europaverlag), 1944.

Dr. Ruben in this book gives us a section out of a series of lectures on Indian history delivered by him in Ankara. "For these lectures," he tells us, "I have endeavoured to write a culture-history of India such as is not yet in existence, from the prehistoric age onward and within the framework of world-history from Europe to China, being convinced that in all periods of history there was a unity of mankind at any rate in Asia and Europe, and that even the important differences between East and West only become clear by such comparison." In executing this bold design he has already cleared off the first two sections, namely the prehistoric age and the early historical period from the Ṛgveda to the end of the Gupta dynasty. Now comes his survey of the medieval period, in which the cultural and political developments of India from the middle of the sixth century A.D. to *circa* 1500 are sketched in outline against a background of world-history.

A method of this sort has certain advantages, and may yield some valuable fruits. But there are also dangers in it. To be thorough it should produce books of vast bulk, so vast indeed that the reader may be in danger of losing his way in a maze of details ; and if not thorough, its results may tend to become sketchy and loose, *disiecta membra* of the corpus of *Weltgeschichte*. Dr. Ruben's little book seems to me liable to some extent to criticism on the latter ground. It contains an immense number of data on very many subjects collected with tireless industry ; but not all of them

are necessary for the purpose, and intension is often sacrificed to extension. Moreover there are slips in spelling, such as " Châlûkya " and " Câlûkya ", " Vâgbhatta ", " Abassiden ", " Naishadacarita ", " Candel ", " Pramara ", " Vikramaschîla ", etc., confusion between Cālukyas and Caulukyas, and an anachronistic and misleading use of the term *zemindar*. The remarks on the *vidūṣaka* of Sanskrit drama betray a failure to grasp the facts of the situation: there were lay Brahmans in plenty, and the convention that introduced one of them as a comic friend of the royal hero owed little or nothing to religious opinion and something to the human tendency to relieve the strain of dramatic sorrow by a touch of fun, which led the Greeks to append a satyric play to the tragic trilogy. Thus we may in justice to Dr. Ruben say that he has indicated many interesting and noteworthy parallels between East and West, but he sometimes fails to convey a clear idea of the course of events, and his sense of proportion is imperfect.

L. D. BARNETT.

TOLKĀPPIYAM: COLLATIKĀRAM. By P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI. General Editor: T. P. MINAKSHI SUNDARAM. Annamalai University Tamil Series, No. 9. Annamalai University, Annamalainagar. 8·4 × 5·5, pp. 316 + xiii. 1945. Price Rs. 5 (7 sh.).

The present work consists of the text in the Tamil and Roman scripts, English translation and notes in English of the *Collatikāram*, the second chapter of the Classical Tamil Grammar, the *Tolkāppiyam*. This chapter deals with the syntax and morphology of the Tamil language, and the translator has added numerous examples from a wide range of literature to illustrate the rules that are the subject of his comments. A large portion of the Introduction is devoted to rules from the *Eḻuttatikāram*, the chapter on Phonology, which the author considers " useful to the historical grammarian " (pp. ix, xiii, etc.). The date of *Tolkāppiyaṉār*, too, has been discussed (pp. xxxii ff.). A more interesting portion of the Introduction is the history of the commentaries to this grammar, and the author has not hesitated to place his name in the list of the commentators (pp. xl, xli).

The citations from Sanskrit grammars, etc., are indeed valuable

to the student of comparative linguistics, and one fails to see in this a "weakness for Sanskrit parallels", as the General Editor maintains (p. i). It is unwise to ignore Tamil borrowings from Sanskrit and the general influence of Indo-Aryan on Dravidian languages, just as it would be to ignore the influence of Dravidian on Sanskrit.

One would have expected the author to give references to authorities like Pāṇini (p. 145) and Jesperson (p. x) whom he quotes. The indexes are useful, but Index II (pp. 309 ff.) might have been better arranged. The Tamil words here could form a separate index, and there might have been an index of subjects in English.

The General Editor in his preface points out inaccuracies in the translation and in the annotations (p. ii). He even challenges the citations from Sanskrit (pp. iii and iv). One cannot, however, expect perfection in a new field like Dravidian linguistics, especially when it is presented in a language foreign to the author. In spite of a few shortcomings the work of Professor Subrahmanya Sastri has its own value.

C. E. GODAKUMBURA.

INDIA—A RESTATEMENT. By Sir REGINALD COUPLAND. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. viii + 312. Oxford University Press, 1945.

We are told that, after listening to a sermon on the French Revolution, Burke exclaimed: "Surely the Church is a place where one day's truce ought to be allowed to the discussions and animosities of mankind," and the members of the Royal Asiatic Society have ordinarily looked on their own Institution as affording an asylum of the character desired by Burke. Sir Reginald Coupland's new book, however—which he entitles *India—a Restatement*, though dealing with controversial issues, betrays little of the controversial spirit, and its most marked differentiation from his three previous reports on the same subject lies in the expansion of the historical side of the picture which he draws for the instruction of those interested in the present political developments. For the first forty pages of his new work he sketches a historical background, stretching from the earliest times to the days of the Mutiny, in which, among other features, he draws a happy comparison of the

fortunes of India and of Europe, and contrasts the India of Akbar with the Europe of Elizabeth, showing in these pages, and throughout the work, recurring evidences of a ripe knowledge of European and Colonial history.

The bulk of the book is a résumé of the gradual development of Indian Nationalism, and the author conducts us with admirable clarity of thought and expression through the tangled history of conferences, programmes, pronouncements, slogans, offers, pacts, and the like. A few important documents are reproduced in an appendix, and one can only wish that the disabilities of the casual reader could have been helped by some sort of chronological table. The whole story is told with studied accuracy and moderation, and though there may be points on which one might like to say a word of comment, they deal with subjects unsuitable for discussion in the cloisters of our Society. Sir Reginald Coupland carries us on to September, 1945, but much has happened and is happening since then, and one looks forward to a further "Restatement" when the *dénouement* has been reached and the old British Bureaucracy has petered out like "the end of an auld sang".

E. D. MACLAGAN.

CUSTOMARY LAW OF THE HAYA TRIBE. By CORY and HARTNOLL. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 10$, pp. 287. Lund Humphries and Co., 1945.

This volume, dealing with a little known tribe resident in Tanganyika Territory, sets out to explain the laws and customs regulating rights in property and the social customs, such as marriage, divorce, and trading practices, among the Hayas. It would have been helpful to the ordinary reader if the book had been furnished with a map showing the precise location of these primitive people, as well as some details of their origin and physical characteristics.

In Appendices IV and V details of clan names and divisions are furnished, with particulars of the various animals and other objects worshipped as totems. It is particularly noteworthy that these people, in addition to the family guardian commonly recognized by tribes in a similar stage of development in many other countries, also have a "secondary totem", which is not generally the case. "The primary totem is a real taboo," say the writers, "but the secondary totem is a more friendly thing," and is generally known

as the brother of the clan. Thus, the so-called secondary totem seems to typify the later stage of spirit worship when the ancestral spirit becomes a guardian instead of being an object of fear requiring propitiation.

The provisions of the tribal law governing social irregularities and the position of irregular offspring are set forth in all their intricacy, and are worthy of careful study. It is clear that these customs are undergoing a process of development which renders it difficult to embody them in a code of hard and fast rules of conduct. But the authors of this volume have rendered a signal service to ethnographical research by embodying the results of skilful and widespread investigations, based largely on the practices of existing tribunals.

It is to be hoped that they will carry their investigations further by dealing later with similar tribes in this little known territory.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.

A CRITICAL SURVEY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE URDU NOVEL AND SHORT STORY. By SHĀISTA AKHTAR BĀNU SUHRAWARDY (BEGUM IKRAMULLAH). London, etc.: Longmans, Green and Co., 1945. Price 21*s*.

This thesis, which was successfully submitted for the degree of Ph.D. of the University of London, will supply part of the answer to the question: Has Urdu a literature worth while? Novel-writing of a good standard is not likely to be a people's sole literary accomplishment, and may safely be regarded as a token of strenuous effort in other directions. The volume outlines with considerable and accurate detail the story of the Urdu novel, and there can be few fiction-writers of any merit in the sixty years of its existence whom the authoress has omitted to mention and estimate. Further the changes in popular taste are of great interest. The lines of the didactic and the historical novel had been well laid, and the daring investigations of the social novel into the sanctions for the subordination of the entire female population had started, before the short story appeared. Short stories in original and in translation from many languages are now as ubiquitous as in any other land. Only a very small percentage of them can be other than ephemeral, and to sift out what is likely to survive requires just such discriminating judgment as is evident in this authoress. The fact that within the

six years since she completed her researches she has one new popular preference to declare and the names of several general favourites to add, goes to show that the list of best-sellers in Urdu, too, needs frequent revision. Her account of the work of the writers who laid the foundations of Urdu fiction is particularly satisfying.

A. H. HARLEY.

B.C. LAW VOLUME. Part I, pp. i–xxviii, 1–705. Part II, 1–473.

These two handsome volumes of articles have been contributed by many friends and admirers to a man of letters with more than forty works on Indian subjects to his credit and a philanthropist, whose beneficence covers a field as varied as his learning. They contain authoritative articles dealing with the Archæology, Art, Education, History, Literature, Law, and Religion of India. Their scope is so wide that the volumes have needed the services of five Indian scholars as editors, including Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who was recently elected an Honorary Fellow of this Society. The contributors include the Marquess of Zetland, Professor F. W. Thomas, Sir Jadunath Sarkar (another of this Society's Honorary Fellows), Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. A. B. Keith, Dr. M. Z. Siddiq, Sir Richard Winstedt and other experts too many to mention. The variety of the contents makes it impossible to deal with them in a single review. Dr. Law's name is already engraved on the tablets of history for his many charities and this volume will assure him a literary immortality.

Islam

LA MÉTAPHORE DANS LE CORAN. By T. SABBAGH. pp. xv + 272. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1943.

A book by an eastern scholar on the Koran as literature is an event; the author has found only five books in classical Arabic which deal with his subject, and one of them should not have been included. This book is German in its thoroughness and there is no variation of emphasis; a metaphor which is all but weathered away receives as much consideration as one which is newly minted. No distinction is made between one peculiar to Muhammad and those which are the common stock of the language. The comparison of the metaphors of the Koran with those of the early poets is a

task waiting a labourer. The book suffers because there is no reference to other literatures; one who has read Nathan's parable in the Bible will not agree that a lamb is a metaphor for a woman.

The verb in "Pour upon us endurance" might be paralleled from modern Syriac. Mr. Sabbagh has not said the last word on this aspect of the Koran, but he has provided all the material for the study of it and has simplified the task of his readers by providing two indices, French and Arabic.

A. S. TRITTON.

LA PENSÉE DE GHAZZĀLĪ. By A. J. WENSINCK. pp. 201. Paris: ADRIEN-MAISONNEUVE, 1940.

This book is a reminder of the loss to scholarship caused by the early death of Professor Wensinck. In it he considered Ghazzālī in his relations to Islam, Christianity, and neo-Platonism, translating freely. In theology Ghazzālī kept within the formulas of Muslim orthodoxy though he interpreted them in the spirit of neo-Platonism. The remoteness of the Muslim God (doctrine of *tanzīh*) agrees well with the neo-Platonic impassible One while the first intelligence takes on the work of creation. Ghazzālī starts from the tradition that God is light and is screened behind seventy veils of light and darkness. Man's duty is to penetrate these veils and draw nigh to God. The desire of the soul for God is stated in neo-Platonic terms as the ascent of the soul from matter through the intelligences to God. Old ideas recur; man is a stranger in the prison of the world, the microcism which is the image of the universe. Christian influence is most plain in the moral teaching. One may add that the personification of the world as an evil woman is false to Muslim orthodoxy. It may be suggested that the discussion of Ghazzālī's psychology does not take account of the Arab love of words and makes distinctions which did not exist. There is no index, but each chapter has a full analysis of its contents.

A. S. TRITTON.

AL-GHAZĀLĪ, THE MYSTIC. By MARGARET SMITH, M.A., D.Lit. London: Luzac and Co., 1944. 21*s*.

This is a painstaking study, based on wide reading and supported by ample references and quotations, of the mystical elements in the writings of the great Moslem theologian. It begins with a

study of his life and personality, in which knowledge is eked out by inferences, some of them rather forced, from passages in his books. It ends with an estimate of his influence within Islam, and also upon Jewish and Christian thinkers, and of his place in the history of Ṣūfism: he is "the thinker who really systematized its doctrines". The book corresponds, perhaps too strictly, to its title. It makes little attempt to relate al-Ghazālī's mysticism to the rest of his teaching, and shows some tendency to regard all inwardness of religion as mystical. But as a summary of this aspect of his teaching, adorned with renderings of many of his own illustrations and sayings, it is useful, and will, it may be hoped, commend him to many readers.

R. Bell.

Art

Documents pour l'Art Comparé de l'Eurasie Septentrionale. By André Leroi-Gourhan. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 99 + illus. 366. Paris, 1943.

This notable and well illustrated book has a value not only for students of comparative design but for students of Oriental history, in particular perhaps for students of the history of the Malay archipelago, for which there is extant so little evidence before the coming of the Hindus at the beginning of the Christian era. Here in this volume is irrefragable evidence of contact between the Malay world and Central Asia, from which the Malays descended. And one is glad to note that M. Leroi-Gourhan promises another volume with illustrations solely from the regions of the Pacific. He has chosen the 366 illustrations for his present volume from 9,000 widely spread specimens.

Examination of the carved handles of Lapp, Celtic, Finnish, and Siberian spoons suggests to him a sun *motif*, and sometimes a bird *motif*, while over the same northern area occurs an identical type of knife adorned with a tent *motif* frequently stylized beyond recognition. The author traces this often baffling stylization of a real theme in the widespread *motif*, probably Asiatic, of two horses (cf. *A Motif in Indonesian Art*, R. O. Winstedt, *JRAS.*, 1944, pp. 130–2) facing a man holding their bridles or else facing what he construes to be a humanized tree. Two themes, he thinks, have got mixed: a colossus with horses and a tree with horses,

though one cannot determine the earlier. The horse *motif* is accompanied by such accessories as birds on the backs of the horses (or sometimes of deer), floral ornament, and animals or geometrical patterns under the horses. The perching birds, the writer guesses, exhibit an amalgamation of two ancient themes: a beast attacked by a bird of prey and a mythological tree with birds. The commonest bird is the cock, the bird of fire and of the sun, that destroys snakes and heralds the dawn, so being an appropriate adjunct to the tree that mounting to heaven serves as a ladder for the rising sun; just as he is a proper ornament for spoon-handles that more generally have a sun *motif*. When humanized as a colossus, the tree is decorated with rays and foliage and has a disk-like face and a trunk for legs. (I have a Sumba cloth with the horse *motif* and a round red disk on the top of a blue trunk, the disk surrounded by blue rays.)

From such realistic sources, associated with religion, the author deduces highly stylized forms, the swastika for example, from the two horses back to back. From scenes of the chase common in Chinese, Scythian, and Sassanid art he derives St. George and the Dragon, the original *motif* infected with the myth of Perseus; from an ancient pattern of a horseman with arms uplifted in worship he deduces the fondness for depicting Christ mounted on an ass. Some of these analogies may be doubtful. But the author is on ground perfectly sure, when he writes: "let us recall that the *motif* of the bird and the snake occurs from the Sunda islands, the colossus with lions from Nias, the passing horseman among the Muongs of Indochina, the worshippers beside a tree from the Sunda islands: Sumatran textiles with boats for the dead exhibit trees with worshippers just as in Karelian art worshippers are surrounded by boats. The co-existence in Karelia and Malaysia of three out of four of these *motifs* corroborates archæological evidence for relations between Malaysia and the Asia of the steppes." But when the Malayo-Polynesians descended from Yunnan into the archipelago, they are supposed to have worn only bark-cloth. Apparently the patterns were brought by the Dongson civilization from Indochina.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Oriental Studies in Poland

The German occupation of Poland affected Oriental studies there perhaps more than any other branch of studies. The few Polish Orientalists could even in normal times ill afford the loss of a single member. Yet starvation, constant strain, concentration camps, and death sentences so reduced their number that years must elapse before Poland can resume the Oriental research of which she had reason to be proud before the war.

A letter written to me by the leading Polish Orientalist, Dr. Tadeusz Kowalski, Professor of Arabic and Turkish at the University of Cracow, and Secretary-General of the Polish Academy of Science and Letters, quotes the names of those eminent Polish scholars—some in the prime of their lives—who died during the period of occupation, and nearly all from causes connected with the war:

The Rev. Prof. Archutowski (Semitic languages); The Rev. Dr. Fic (Semitic languages); Prof. J. Jaworski (Chinese and Japanese); Prof. W. Kotwicz (Ural-Altaic languages); Dr. L. Kryczyński (Islamic culture); D. Kuenstlinger (Arabic); A. Mardkowicz; The Rev. Prof. W. Michalski (Palestine); Prof. S. Poniatowski (Anthropology); Dr. S. Przeworski (Archæology); Sadyk Bey (Turkish and Persian); Prof. S. Schayer (Sanskrit and Indian Philosophy); The Rev. Prof. M. Schorr, Chief Rabbi of Warsaw (Hebrew and Assyrian Law); The Rev. Prof. J. Stawarczyk (Biblical Studies); Prof. A. Śmieszek (Egypt); The Rev. Dr. J. Mieses, Rabbi (Hebrew); The Rev. Dr. J. L. Freund, Chief Rabbi (Hebrew); Dr. I. Wajnberg (Coptic, Ethiopic, Amharic); Prof. Amelia Hertz (Archæology); the last four are missing, believed dead.

To these names are to be added all of those scholars who are not mentioned in the records of the Polish Oriental Society, but some of whom have contributed considerably to Oriental researches in Poland and abroad.

In regard to a small crowd of specialists these are heart-rending losses. But the havoc that bereft Poland of approximately 75 per cent

of her Orientalists is not the only handicap to the survivors who are determined to carry on. The Polish Academy and some other institutions are printing Orientalist publications delayed by, or prepared during, the war. Professor Kowalski's translation of the Arabic text of Ibrāhīm b. Ja'ḳūb, and the text itself with critical notes, is being printed. So is the first part of T. Lewicki's essay on Idrīsī, Prof. A. Zajączkowski's book on the Khazars, and the late T. Gawroński's essay (ed. by E. Słuszkiewicz) on the Indian Drama. Nevertheless for over five years of German occupation Poland was entirely out of touch with events in scholarly life, and ignorant of any publications or discoveries.

Conditions, though slowly improving in general, are not very likely to improve in the field of oriental studies. This rather remote province of study cannot be furthered by the authorities in the present economic circumstances, since more direct and immediate needs of national recovery will have priority. Neither can Poland fall back on her pre-war Oriental libraries, as most of the books have been bombed, robbed, burnt, or otherwise destroyed. The Warsaw Oriental Institute with a library equal to any of the Western countries of Europe has been entirely destroyed and not a single volume remains.

May a Polish Orientalist appeal to institutions in other countries and to the authors of books, essays, and pamphlets on Oriental subjects, particularly those published in the years 1939–1945, to present them to the Oriental Institutes of Poland ? Works dealing with bibliography of war years would be especially appreciated.

ARNOLD KUNST.

Society's Removal to New Premises

On 25th November the Society removed to 56 Queen Anne Street, London, W.1.

Members will be notified next year when the Library can be reopened.

ANNIVERSARY GENERAL MEETING

9th May, 1946

Sir Richard Winstedt, President, in the Chair introduced discussion of the Annual Report. He regretted that four Honorary Members had died :—

Professors A. Christensen, C. A. Nallino, Paul Pelliot, and N. Rhodakanakis.

Five Ordinary Members had died :—

Miss C. Gaudet, Col. D. M. Hoysted, Dr. N. J. Krom, Professor R. A. Nicholson, and Sir Percy Sykes.

Five had resigned :—

Sir George Hill, Professor E. O. James, Mr. S. Morris, Rev. A. C. Rose, Rev. H. H. Rowley.

Three Honorary Members had been elected :—

Professors Dr. Duyvendak, Dr. H. S. Nijberg, and Dr. Ph. van Ronkel.

Seventy-four new Members had been elected :—

Earl of Scarbrough ; Lord Derwent ; Major Tengku Muhaiyu'd-din ; Judge T. F. McAllister ; Professors S. C. Deb, D. V. Gokhale, H. G. Rawlinson, and C. Williams ; Drs. A. H. Abdel-Kader, R. Brinker, A. Bulling, L. Dhar, G. P. Ghosh, G. N. Nizami, B. Schindler, E. Schram-Nielsen, A. K. Sinha, A. N. Sousa ; Revs. R. V. Emery, J. B. Hardie, R. Parkins ; Majors A. Cockle, M. B. Rowton, M. C. Sheppard, and J. S. H. Watt ; Captains H. J. Larwood and R. Newson ; Shaikh M. S. Ayyam ; Messrs. K. N. Ahmad, I. M. Ali, R. H. G. Alston, B. N. Bannerji, A. E. Barfoot, S. K. Basu, I. W. S. Beddoes, R. C. Brewer, J. Brough, J. H. Browne, P. S. Chattura, S. Chaudhuri, S. Clegg, N. C. B. Cleveley, N. D. Clive, D. C. Dutta, L. M. Glancy, C. A. Greenwood, B. D. Gupta, S. H. Hansford, A. H. Hashem, F. Kabraji, Ch. M. U. Khan, J. S. Kirkland, G. Krishnan, A. K. S. Lambton, L. J. Latham, A. C. E. Long, E. L. Macro, J. V. Mills, H. K. Moyade, S. Mudaliar, A. U. Mullick, J. A. B. Palmer, J. Paxton, B. N. Rae, D. S. Rice, U. V. Seetaramaiya, S. E. Shaaya, S. R. Sharma, R. B. Singh, V. Srinivasan, A. M. A. Sveshta-Saldanha, E. V. P. Tomlin, B. C. B. Vidyanidhi, Khan A. Wadud, and M. V. Yogi ; Mrs. P. M. Bennett Storey ; Misses Altounyan and N. Rosenthal.

Several lectures were given during the year :—

" Kingship and Hindu-Muslim Enthronement Ceremonies in Malaya," by Sir Richard Winstedt.

" Lhasa " (The Aurel Stein Memorial Lecture), by Mr. E. H. C. Walsh.

" Gupta Influence in Early Chinese Sculpture," by Mr. J. H. Lindsay.

" Archaic Classical and Romantic Art in Buddhist India," by Dr. C. L. Fabri.

" Water Transport in Asia," by Mr. J. Hornell.

Exhibition of Reproductions of the Ajānta Cave Paintings.

Universities Essay Prize was won by Mr. R. F. S. Batstone, Worcester College, Oxford, who wrote on " The Mongols in Asia and Europe ".

Society's Publications, 1945–6.—A monograph on The Magadhas by Dr. B. C. Law was in the press.

Donations.—His Grace the Duke of Westminster had remitted £50 of the normal rent of the premises. Sir Edward Maclagan and Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham had given a portrait of Sir Aurel Stein.

The Council recommended the election of the following Officers and Members of Council :—

The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Scarbrough, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., as President ; Sir Richard Winstedt, Director ; Dr. L. D. Barnett, Honorary Librarian ; Professor A. J. Arberry, Honorary Secretary ; and Mr. J. H. Lindsay, Honorary Treasurer.

Professor R. L. Turner and Mr. M. K. Vellodi, C.I.E., I.C.S., as Members of Council.

The Society was again greatly indebted to Messrs. T. L. Wilson and Co., its Honorary Solicitors since 1886, for valuable advice and ungrudging assistance.

Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co. were nominated Professional Auditors and Dr. le May and Mr. R. E. Enthoven, Honorary Auditors.

The President called on the Hon, Treasurer, who made his annual statement :—

" Last year I ventured the opinion that the Society had turned its financial corner and our accounts this year tend to confirm that view. We close the year with a balance of £107 as compared with £41 last year, and we have paid our *Journal* account up to date, the first time for eleven years. When we remember the desperate

condition of our finances a few years ago we cannot be too grateful to the many friends who have helped us, in particular to the British Academy for their timely grant of £200 a year, and to our Secretary, Mrs. Davis, who has carried on single-handed on the smallest of pay, and without even a Provident Fund.

The finances of the Society are beginning to look less unhealthy. The best sign is the improvement under subscriptions, the figure being £811 compared with £595 two years ago and £739 for 1944–5. Part of our income comes from letting our extra rooms. These were all let, bringing in £665 against £279 received in 1942, when London suffered so much from enemy action. The Governments of India, the Federated Malay States, the Straits Settlements, and Hong Kong continued their welcome support, and one may hope for further help when conditions improve. The receipts from the sale of the *Journal* were well maintained. The British Council sends copies to the many countries in which it promotes a knowledge of British culture.

" On the expenditure side there are a few points to note.

" (1) The *Journal* Account has risen from £528 to £607. But we have paid for three numbers of the *Journal* instead of two and have been granted a handsome discount of £100 by our printers, Stephen Austin and Sons.

" (2) ' Fire-watching ' that cost £67 in 1944 has ended.

" (3) There is a new item of £75 starting a Provident Fund for our Secretary, which should have been started long ago. There are many other urgent needs, a larger staff, the purchase of foreign books for the library, the binding of books, more issues of the *Journal*, which used to be a quarterly, the building up of a compounded subscription account. However, what seemed most important was to give some sort of security to our Secretary, who had helped the Society through the most difficult times in its history."

Mr. Kincaid, in moving the adoption of the Report, the Statement of Accounts, and election of Officers and Members of Council, said that he had last performed this pleasant duty in 1938 with Lord Willingdon in the Chair. The financial state of the Society was then hardly promising, and it had been proposed to sell its existing premises and look for another residence in Kensington, which had reminded him of the title of the then popular film, " The Ghost goes West." Our finances were in far better order now.

They were all very sorry that Sir Richard Winstedt was ceasing under the rules to be President, but were no less glad that he would be their Director again. It was therefore not a case of "Hail and farewell", but rather of "Farewell and hail". He felt that as Director, Sir Richard would direct their activities with the same wisdom and energy he had exercised as President for the last three years.

Professor A. J. Arberry, seconding the adoption of the Report, said that he wished to associate himself with the proposer's tribute to the work of the retiring President. It had been his privilege, as a member of the Council, to observe Sir Richard's conduct of the Society's affairs at close quarters; and he was glad to be able to bear testimony to his great loyalty, devotion, and—might he add?—his acumen. In the long history of the Society none had excelled Sir Richard's record: he had set a standard which it would be quite impossible in the future to surpass, and exceedingly difficult to rival. Turning to the rest of the Report, the Society mourned the death of a number of distinguished members. Persian studies had suffered particularly heavy losses with the passing of Professors R. A. Nicholson and Christensen, and Sir Percy Sykes. But the large number of new members augured well for the future. The Society owed a debt of gratitude to the Honorary Treasurer for the skilful and successful way in which he had managed its finances.

The Report was unanimously adopted.

The President then commented on the happenings of the past year. Among its honorary members the Society had lost Paul Pelliot, a Marco Polo among scholars and a scholar among Marco Polos. It had lost Dr. Krom who but for the war would surely have been elected an honorary member for his research into the pre-Muslim history of Java and the Malay Archipelago. It had lost Professor Nicholson, the greatest authority on Islamic mysticism that this country had ever seen. Gone, too, was Sir Percy Sykes, who did so much to tell the world something about Persia and Afghanistan. Finally, there was Colonel Hoysted, to whose loyalty and devoted service as its Secretary this Society owed so much.

Societies outlived their members, as the banyan outlived its leaves. The Malayan Branch of the Society, the North China and the Siam Societies had all wilted under the glare of the Rising Sun, but the first at least had already revived. And they looked forward to having on their tables again the Journals not only of

Holland but of Batavia and Hanoi. It was to be hoped that the libraries and collections at Hanoi, Pnompenh, and Batavia had escaped as lightly as those at Singapore.

Scarcity of cash, paper, and compositors still compelled the curtailment of the *Journal.* Some found it long enough as it was. But he would remind critics of what Sir Arnold had said nine years ago: "I can think of no learned journal from which I get better value. To be brought to realize the great depths of one's own ignorance and the vast erudition of others is, itself, an education."

The Society's staff was still depleted. Professor Margoliouth, when President, had complained that he expected every morning's post to bring him a communication from the Secretary requiring an answer. That correspondence now flowed from the sole pen of Mrs. Davis, whom the war had turned into secretary, assistant secretary, librarian, and office-boy. As one Member of Council had said, "She is the Society." Recently she had had the help of Mrs. Herson, while Major Bramhall, our honorary solicitor, had been ungrudging in giving legal advice.

Negotiations for the sale of the present premises and the acquisition of another house not far away and more commodious might leave the society a clear profit of £12,000 after deducting all the costs of removal. But the conclusion of the deal depended still on the de-requisitioning of the house they had in view.

Some feared the future of learned societies would be imperilled by the mechanical and political bent of a generation infatuated with science and planning. But 2,000 years ago Horace was writing of the universal popularity of speed-racing and politics. Others feared that with our withdrawal from India British interest in Indian scholarship might lapse. But might he quote Sir Arnold Wilson again? "The part that England will have to play in Asia during the next hundred years will be more nearly related to the conception of scholarship and scientific knowledge than of administrative capacity. Executive activities will be more and more transferred to nationalist hands, but scholarship will, for many a long year, be our prerogative. Politicians respect and admire scholarship even when they do not understand it. They realize it to be something of permanent value, and the very detachment of a scholar from the petty controversies and current emergencies give him a standing."

Sir Richard concluded: "This is the last time I shall address

you as President. I was greatly honoured to be elected to an office that had been held by Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir William Muir, Sir Bartle Frere, Professor Margoliouth, Sir Edward Maclagan, Lord Zetland, Lord Willingdon, and Lord Samuel. My three-year term was rendered difficult by the war. But I have had the most generous support from all members of Council, among whom I was always able to consult in any emergency two gentlemen resident in London, Sir Edward Maclagan and Mr. Lindsay, our Hon. Treasurer. The Society is fortunate that Lord Scarbrough has consented to be its President. Not only is he a distinguished administrator and a man of affairs acquainted with the East, but more recently he has been President of a Commission, on whose Report all Orientalists build great hopes. I must thank you all for electing me Director again and giving me the opportunity of continuing to serve the interests of the Society."

THE SOCIETY'S RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1944				41	12	1
SUBSCRIPTIONS—						
Fellows	280	7	0			
Non-Resident Members	378	12	0			
Student and Miscellaneous	38	2	11			
Fellow Compounders	51	1	0			
Non-Resident Compounders	63	0	0			
				811	2	11
GRANTS—						
British Academy	200	0	0			
Government of Federated Malay States	20	0	0			
Government of Hong Kong 1944 & 1945	10	0	0			
Government of India	283	10	0			
Government of Straits Settlements 1944 & 1945	40	0	0			
				553	10	0
RENTS RECEIVED				665	0	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Subscriptions	328	8	0			
Additional Copies Sold	47	7	2			
Pamphlets sold		17	8			
				376	12	10
DIVIDENDS				73	16	11
SALE OF CATALOGUE				6	11	5
COMMISSION ON SALE OF BOOKS, 1944				17	17	4
LANDLORD'S PROPORTION OF WAR DAMAGE CONTRIBUTION				47	14	0
SUNDRY RECEIPTS				52	4	2
				£2,646	1	8

INVESTMENTS

£1,426 1*s.* 10*d.* Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.
£777 1*s.* 1*d.* 4 per cent Funding Stock 1960–90.

NOTE

£1,420 12*s.* 8*d.* is outstanding as a liability, to be transferred to a separate compounded subscription account when general funds permit.

PAYMENTS FOR 1945

PAYMENTS	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
HOUSE ACCOUNT—						
Rent and Land Tax	451	1	10			
Rates, less those defrayed by Tenants	233	1	2			
Gas and Light	83	6	10			
Coal and Coke	57	15	7			
Telephone	14	0	5			
Cleaning	5	18	9			
Insurance	44	16	6			
Repairs and Renewals	46	14	9			
				936	15	10
LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND				30	10	6
SALARIES AND WAGES				742	0	0
PRINTING AND STATIONERY				26	4	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Printing	593	9	2			
Postage	14	0	0			
				607	9	2
LIBRARY EXPENDITURE				4	1	9
GENERAL POSTAGE				28	9	3
SUNDRY EXPENSES—						
Teas	19	2	4			
Lectures	9	19	0			
National Health and Unemployment Insurance	10	7	4			
Storage & Transport of Books	38	0	0			
War Damage Contribution, 1945	53	0	0			
Other General Expenditure	31	19	3			
				162	7	11
BALANCE AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1945—						
Cash at Bank in General Account	105	6	7			
Cash in Post Office Savings Bank		5	7			
Cash in hand	2	11	1			
				108	3	3
				£2,646	1	8

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be in accordance therewith.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
E. B. HOWELL, Auditor for the Council.
R. S. LE MAY, Auditor for the Society.

LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND, 1945

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balance, 1/1/45	914 15 11	Balance represented by £914 5s. 4d. 3½% War Stock	945 6 5	
Transfer from General Account	30 10 6	Cash at Bank	31 19 10	
Dividemds to be Re-invested	31 19 10			977 6 3
	£977 6 3			£977 6 3

SPECIAL FUNDS, 1945

Oriental Translation Fund

Receipts		Payments	
Balance, 1/1/45	182 12 1	Rental of Type	2 3 6
Sales	30 15 0	Binding 25 Vols. XIV, XV, XX	5 12 6
Interest on Deposit	6 0	31/12/45 Balance carried to Summary	205 17 1
	£213 13 1		£213 13 1

Royal Asiatic Society Monograph Fund

Balance, 1/1/45	209 5 0	Map for Vol. XXIV	5 0 0
Sales	6 17 8	Binding 25 Vols. XXII	1 5 0
		31/12/45 Balance carried to Summary	209 17 8
	£216 2 8		£216 2 8

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES 31st DEC., 1945

Oriental Translation Fund	205 17 1	Cash at Bank—		
Royal Asiatic Society Monograph Fund	209 17 8	On Current Account	355 14 9	
		On Deposit Account	60 0 0	
				415 14 9
	£415 14 9			£415 14 9

Investments. Nil.

TRUST FUNDS, 1945

Prize Publication Fund

Balance, 1/1/45	175 3 11	Binding 25 Vols. X, XII, XIV, XV	7 10 0
Sales	10 17 6	31/12/45 Balance carried to Summary	196 11 5
Dividends	18 0 0		
	£204 1 5		£204 1 5

Gold Medal Fund

Balance, 1/1/45	83 13 11	31/12/45 Balance carried to Summary	93 8 11
Dividends	9 15 0		
	£93 8 11		£93 8 11

Universities Prize Essay Fund

Balance, 1/1/45	205 2 10	Prize	20 0 0
Dividends	20 15 4	31/12/45 Balance carried to Summary	205 18 2
	£225 18 2		£225 18 2

Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance, 1/1/45	194	0	0	31/12/45 Balance carried to Summary	216	6	10
Dividends	10	15	10				
Income Tax Rebate	11	11	0				
	£216	6	10		£216	6	10

Summary of Trust Fund Balances, 1945

Prize Publication Fund	196	11	5	31/12/45 Cash at Bank on Current Account	712	5	4
Gold Medal Fund	93	8	11				
Universities Prize Essay Fund	205	18	2				
Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account	216	6	10				
	£712	5	4		£712	5	4

Trust Fund Investments

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund).
£325 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).
£645 11*s.* 2*d.* Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "B" Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund).
£40 3½% Conversion Stock 1961 ("B" account).
Rs. 12,000 3½% Government of India Promissory Note No. 034904 of 1879 (Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account)

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND, 1945

Balance, 1/1/45	14	6	9	Medal	6	5	0
Dividends	1	9	7	Sundries	5	5	0
				Balance—Cash at Bank on Current Account	4	6	4
	£15	16	4		£15	16	4

Burton Fund Investment

£49 0*s.* 10*d.* Local Loans 3% Stock.

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND, 1945

Balance, 1/1/45	1,068	1	3	Binding 25 Vols. XI, XII, XVII	6	5	0
Dividends	142	14	11	R.A.S 10 per cent Commission Sales 1944	17	17	4
Sales	21	11	5	Balance—Cash at Bank on Current Account 967 2 2			
Income Tax Rebate	88	16	11	Cash in P.O. Savings Bank 330 0 0	1297	2	2
	£1,321	4	6		£1,321	4	6

Forlong Fund Investment

£1,005 14*s.* 7*d.* New South Wales 4% Inscribed Stock 1942–62.
£1,015 16*s.* 3*d.* South Australian Government 4% Inscribed Stock 1940–60.
£1,031 12*s.* 7*d.* 3% Savings Bonds 1960–70.
£804 5*s.* 8*d.* Bank of England Stock.
£700 3½% Conversion Loan 1961 ("A" account).
£45 East India Railway Co. Annuity Class "B".
£253 18*s.* 4*d.* 3½% War Loan ("A" account).

I have examined the above statements with the books and vouchers and hereby certify the same to be in accordance therewith. I have also had produced to me certificates in verification of the investments and Bank Balance.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor,
3, *Frederick's Place, Old Jewry, E.C.* 2.

Countersigned { E. B. HOWELL, Auditor for the Council.
R. S. LE MAY, Auditor for the Society.

PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Abdul Waheed, K. The Islamic Background of Modern Science. Isha'at-i-Qur'an Series, No. 7. *Lahore*, 1945. [21 G]

Abjadi, Mir Ismail Khan. Anwar Nama. Ed. by Muhammad Husayn Mahvi. Madras University Islamic Series, No. 8, 1944. *From University of Madras.* [10 E]

Académie Arabe, La Revue de l' (Majallat Majma' 'ilmè 'Arabic). Vol. 20, 7–8, 9–10, 11–12 ; Vol. 21, June, 1946. *Damascus*, 1945–6. *Exchange.* [130 B]

Ackerman, Phyllis. Ritual Bronzes of Ancient China. *New York*, 1945. *From the Dryden Press.* [73 E]

Al-Andalus. Vol. X, Madrid, 1945. Fasc. 2. *Exchange.* [125 G]

Aldrich, H. S. A Topical Chinese Dictionary. Mirror Series A, No. 14. *New Haven*, 1945. *From Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press*, 1945. [26 H]

Allahabad, University of. Studies, Zoology Section, Law Section, Education Section. 1945. *From the University.* [181 C]

Al-Machriq—Arab Review. N.S., No. I, 1946, January–March. *Beyrouth*, 1946. *Exchange.* [118 A and C]

American Oriental Society, Journal of the. January–March, Supplement to No. 5 January–March, 1946. July–September, Vol. 65, Nos. 3, 4, 1945. January–March, Vol. 66, Nos. 1, 2, 1945. Supplement, No. 6, April–June, 1946. *Exchange.* [121 E]

American Schools of Oriental Research, Bulletin of the. Supplementary Studies, No. 1. *New Haven*, 1945. *Exchange.* [125 E]

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